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EC Ministers Approve Loans for Nuclear Plants

AU1406162493 Prague CTK in English 1105 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Bern, June 10 (CTK)—The finance ministers of the 12 European Community (EC) countries have approved a program of loans to be extended by the EC's organisation for nuclear energy, Euratom.

The total package of loans is worth 1.1 billion ECU [European Currency Units], the Nucnet information agency announced today.

The loans will go towards modernisation of obsolete nuclear power plants in Armenia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Ukraine.

The plan still has to be approved by a plenary session of the European Parliament, and loan conditions, such as repayment terms and tentative deadlines for phase out of older nuclear power generators have to be worked out in detail, Nucnet concluded.

European Officials Visit Hungarian-Slovak Border

AU1406172193 Prague CTK in English 1736 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest June 10 (CTK)—Members of the European Parliament (EP) delegation, currently visiting Hungary, voiced today their support for opening new Slovak-Hungarian border crossings, which they consider important for the regional cooperation.

The EP delegates today visited the Hungarian-Slovak border region.

The establishment of another two border crossings in the region has been fruitlessly demanded by the border communities' mayors and inhabitants. The suggested border crossings between Pacin and Velky Kamenec, and Lacacseke and Pribenik would improve communication between Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian border regions.

Moreover, a customs-free zone is to be opened in Lacacseke, Hungary, which could attract foreign capital to the region.

EP Deputy Andre Sanjon said that there was a single passable way ahead for both Hungary and Slovakia—to the European Community (EC). It is important that differences in the two countries' views be not expressed by their efforts to change their mutual border, but solved by making the border more passable, Sanjon stressed.

Earlier, certain forces in Hungary called for a change in the Hungarian-Slovak border as it was set out after World War One.

The chairman of the Hungarian Parliamentary Committee for EC Affairs, Richard Horcsik, regretted a recent statement made by the Slovak foreign minister in Budapest that Bratislava would not allow the opening of any new border crossings until a Slovak-Hungarian basic agreement was signed.

German Boats Monitor Sanctions on Danube

LD0906175993 Berlin ADN in German 1546 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—On the Danube near Mohacs today, two German patrol boats began to monitor compliance with the UN embargo against Serbia within the framework of the West European Union [WEU], their commanding officer Gert Eberhardt said. The memorandum establishing the legal basis for this was signed by Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and the WEU in Rome on 25 May. The boats are charged with giving Hungarian customs and river protection police technical and advisory support with their monitoring operation. They are unarmed, and the crews only carry hand guns while on duty. The monitoring operation near Baja and Mohacs applies solely to transit transport, and the Hungarians alone have the right to stop ships.

SDS Accuses Zhelev of 'Manipulating Majority'

AU1406082393 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 13 (BTA)—"This evening the president openly threatened with violence, screening himself behind slogans for order and stability of the institutions," the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) said in a declaration read on national television in reaction to President Zhelyu Zhelev's address to the nation aired earlier this evening. "It is a misconception of democracy that voters have no right to react by peaceful protests to political machinations and lies," the document emphasizes.

The SDS accused the president of manipulating the new parliamentary majority, which voted the coalition's government out of office. In its declaration the union declared itself in favour of a democracy and an order based on "the real vote of the electorate." "The president usurped the right to determine when people can desire democracy and when they cannot. This is just the first step towards tyranny," the declaration reads.

Mr. Edvin Sugarev MP of the SDS, who has been fasting for a seventh day now, is in a satisfactory health condition for the time being, according to a medical team. "I feel well and I think I will hold out for a long time," Mr. Sugarev told a radio reporter this morning. Seven days ago, he declared an indefinite hunger strike to press demands for President Zhelev's resignation.

The press were told at a SDS briefing today that over 270,000 signatures had been collected nationwide in support of Mr. Sugarev's protest. There are already 74 tents in the "Town of Protest," a camp pitched by pro-Sugarev activists in immediate proximity to the office of the president in central Sofia.

An improvised rally at the "Town of Protest" today was addressed by SDS leader Filip Dimitrov and other speakers. Again, they urged for the president's resignation and for elections as soon as possible.

Incoming reports from around the country tell about protest meetings scheduled in support of Edvin Sugarev, as well as about declarations censuring his strike.

Berov Cancels Trip to Vienna

AU1406140293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bilyana Mikhaylova reports from the Council of Ministers.

[Mikhaylova] About an hour ago Prime Minister Lyuben Berov briefly assessed the events that have developed in Bulgaria in the past few days. According to him, a plan aimed at destabilizing the country as a whole and creating an ostensible revolutionary chaos has been activated. Prof. Berov pointed out that the camping in front of the Presidency should not be viewed as a threat and too much attention should not be attributed to it. He described the camping as part of a plan to destabilize the country and called it an adventurist plan, the result of the policy of the most stubborn part of the National Coordinating Council and the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

According to the prime minister, those actions will ruin the SDS, at a time when our country needs the SDS as a political force.

I asked the prime minister what will happen in the future. Nothing, the prime minister answered, and added that the reforms will continue.

The prime minister described Edvin Sugarev's strike as a political circus and said that Sugarev is merely a pawn in the hands of others—those who concocted the plan for the destabilization of the country. It is no chance occurrence that the strike coincides with the camping in front of the Presidency and with the rally that will take place this evening. He described the rally as one of the most important reasons for his decision not to attend the human rights conference in Vienna.

Prof. Berov said that he does not want to miss the applause in his favor he expects from the rally, and expressed concern that he would be accused of bad manners if on that day he were in Vienna rather than in Sofia.

In connection with his participation in the Vienna Human Rights Conference, the prime minister pointed out that he would be represented in a worthy manner at the conference. I do not think that my decision not to go will have any negative foreign effect. It is better to avoid a political threat here, he said.

The prime minister also said that a foreign minister will be appointed by the end of the week, after parliament has approved one of the four candidacies that will be proposed.

Zhelev Replies to Dimitrov's Invitation

AU1406181693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] At today's weekly briefing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the following was released to the media:

The camp in front of the president's office already consists of 79 tents. More are expected to be set up tomorrow. The mayors of Monatana, Khaskovo, and Varna are expected to arrive tomorrow and join the demonstrations.

Tonight Vice President Blaga Dimitrova is scheduled to deliver an address over the Bulgarian National Television on the events of last week.

In connection with President Zhelev's statement of 13 June 1993, Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, sent a letter to the president in which he expressed the view that such statements are irresponsible, or deliberately aimed at confusing Bulgarian citizens' ideas about what actions are democratic and what are not, or reflect a total misunderstanding of democratic principles.

The SDS opposes the falsification of democratic institutions, the forging of election results, and untruths and manipulations in politics, Mr. Dimitrov declared. This is how we are fulfilling our duties toward the principles of democracy, and we are using solely peaceful and legitimate actions for the purpose.

If you are in a position to point out one single action organized by the SDS which could be described as illegal, I, as chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, am urging you immediately to inform the relevant authorities, and so as to prevent this address from becoming meaningless, and in assuming the responsibility for the actions of the SDS, I am ready to renounce my parliamentary immunity, Filip Dimitrov stated in his letter to the president.

Regardless of all this, I am convinced that it is your duty to explain to the nation what has prompted you to describe us as people striving for dictatorship, an ambition which better applies to yourself.

The SDS leader invited the president to an immediate meeting and public debate so that the Bulgarian people may be totally convinced that we support democracy, and defend the democratic principles and rules, while your actions should be considered as aimed at establishing a dictatorial regime. This was Mr. Dimitrov's message to the president.

We would like to mention the fact that the cameraman Evgeni Mikhaylov also urged President Zhelev to face him in a public debate.

This is the president's reply which we have just received from his office. It reads as follows:

Addressed to Mr. Filip Dimitrov and Mr. Evgeni Mikhaylov, through the mass media.

Gentlemen, you are inviting me to participate in a public debate by accusing me in advance of treachery, cowardice, treason, lies, and deception. You are inviting me to attend a public debate expecting me to provide evidence against the accusation with which your spokesman attacked me last night, namely that I am striving for a dictatorship. Gentlemen, all this is illogical. I have already replied to such accusations on several occasions, and my answer is all my political activity, which the country has watched and is watching.

If you have found some evidence for your allegations, I am ready to discuss it. Otherwise, all this is a simple waste of time.

14 June 1993, signed: Zhelyu Zhelev, President of the Republic of Bulgaria

SDS Holds Rally in Sofia

AU1406210493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] [Announcer] Our reporter Antoaneta Puncheva is at the rally held by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on Aleksandur Battenberg Square in Sofia. Good evening.

[Puncheva] Good evening. We are on the square with our mobile radio station. Today's protest meeting, which is the second of this week for Edvin Sugarev's hunger strike, began as usual with the old monarchist national anthem. The slogan of the meeting is "A nation against untruth." It is supposed to unite Sofia citizens with the participants of parallel rallies held in the okrug capitals, on which we are also going to report.

The speakers, two of whom already took the floor, are Bozhidar Bozhilov, the poet Krustyu Statunin from Teteven, Georgi Manov, member of parliament Aleksandur Pramatarski, Asparukh Panov, Vasil Mikhaylov, Stefan Sofiyanski, and Ivan Kurtev. As you hear, they selected more aktivists of the union. The members of parliament are not so many. The leaders of the SDS parliamentary group are also absent. For the time being they are not among the speakers and are not even at the rostrum.

Filip Dimitrov is also expected to speak and the same applies to cameraman Evgeni Mikhaylov, who took pictures of the people on the square as he did in 1990.

People are once more chanting: "Down with the Bulgarian Communist Party." However, who knows whether history will repeat itself?

Before joining the rally people signed the book in the tents of the camp in support of Edvin Sugarev.

Petur Stoyanov opened the rally by mentioning the tragic case of Edvin Sugarev who is on a hunger strike.

For the time being the people on the square are being urged to remain all night here with burning candles in order to await the morning and the president's resignation.

Night Vigil Called Illegal

AU1506090793 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 14 (BTA)—The participants in the thousands-strong rally, held by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) at only 200 metres away from the Presidency in the centre of Sofia under the motto "A Life Versus a Lie," are going to hold an all-night vigil. The rally, which raised demands for the resignation of President Zhelyu Zhelev and for early general elections, was organized by the SDS in support of the hunger strike declared by Edvin Sugarev, Ecoglasnost leader and SDS MP, who has been fasting for a week now and insists on President Zhelyu Zhelev's resignation. Responding to the appeal to stay there all the night, the rally-goers confirmed their readiness to continue their protest action until the president resigns.

To hold rallies and other public events from 2200 to 0600 hours is a gross violation of the Act Regulating the Holding of Meetings, Rallies and Demonstrations, Council of Ministers' spokesman Rayko Raykov said in a statement on the national television. As this creates conditions for breaches of the peace in the populated centres, the government appeals to all citizens to obey the law, all mayors should exercise the powers vested in them by the law and ban any such actions, the government's spokesman said.

Representatives of Ruse, Veliko Turnovo, Burgas, Plovdiv, Pleven and of other big cities in Bulgaria had come to Sofia to take part in the rally. Simultaneous rallies under the same motto were held in other places in the country.

It became clear from the speeches made at the rally that if the president refused to resign, the SDS would declare a general strike. Shouting "Resignation," "Elections," and "Victory," the participants hailed the declaration of the SDS organization in Ruse which said that the road which the president chose would lead to the restoration of communism. The speakers accused the president of treachery and manipulations with the vote of the electorate.

"Edvin Sugarev made the first step, now there is no going back," Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, underlined in his address. There is no other remedy for the disease which Bulgarian society is suffering from except early parliamentary elections, he stressed.

Later on a vigil with candles was held in the square where the rally took place. The supporters of the SDS coalition will organize protest marches in Sofia over the next three days.

This evening Vice President Blaga Dimitrova came on television to make an emotional address in support of fasting Edvin Sugarev. Mrs. Dimitrova praised his hunger strike as a moral act and called for general elections which she described as the most democratic measure.

The regional New Policy Centre will organize a march of President Zhelev's supporters in Pirin Macedonia to Sofia. The president enjoys high prestige among the people in Pirin Macedonia who have been through hell, they will find the means and ways to protect him, a declaration received at BTA says.

The Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Teachers Trade Union called upon the political parties, the National Assembly, the Presidency and the executive branch to stop "the political confrontation" in the country.

Dimitrova Calls For Early Elections

AU1406203093 Sofia BULGARSKA TELEVIZIYA Network in Bulgarian 1735 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Address delivered by Vice President Blaga Dimitrova—live]

[Excerpts] Brothers and sisters: Over the petty politicians' speeches competing in telling lies, over the newspapers' slanders and denouncements, over the hoarse choir of ministers making false pledges, over the squeaking party leaders in the frog pond of the swamps, over the lies and demagogy spread by the microphones of radio and television, suddenly we heard a crystal pure, bell-like voice. We heard about the lofty, self-sacrificing gesture of Edvin Sugarev, poet, member of parliament, literary historian, journalist, chairman of Ecoglasnost, and publisher of a literary newspaper.

Through his act, I hear the voices of Bulgarian poets from the past, who sacrificed their youth and lives for their motherland. [passage omitted]

Our motherland is in a desperate situation, in deadlock. The days are passing and we have no time to hesitate. The inevitable fate approaches. However, there must be a dignified way out. We cannot permit Bulgaria's future to be built on deception and victims. We are obliged to rescue our lives from untruth.

I can no longer remain silent and suppress my pain. I did everyting in my power to reach a mutual understanding. I still have the desperate hope that Edvin Sugarev's ethical gesture will evoke an ethical response. Otherwise, we shall all be responsible for the loss of the lives and health of numerous loyal people and for the tragic fate of our homeland.

The consequences are unpredictable. I regret to say it, but the threat contained in the president's address last night fully convinced me of the only way out of the situation. We must resolutely proceed toward the most democratic measure—namely toward parliamentary elections.

Only dishonest and unworthy rulers are afraid of elections. Elections shall restore the confidence of the civilized world toward Bulgaria and it shall restore our own confidence in ourselves, in the victory of democracy.

I appeal to all of you, dear compatriots, irrespective of your ideas, convictions, and affiliations. We must, with peaceful and humane actions, save Edvin Sugarev and all the others, so that we may save our own souls.

Edi, you will not leave us with the unbearable guilt about your young life, will you? Morality and politics will merge in the elections. There must be honest, democratic, parliamentary elections. They shall help us to overcome the lies; any other demand is unnecessary.

We must rely on the conscience and common sense of society.

Thank you for your attention.

Berov Warns of 'Revolutionary Chaos' Plan

AU1506102193 Sofia BTA in English 2146 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 14 (BTA) - Before the opening of today's meeting of the cabinet Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said that a plan was being carried out in the country aimed to destabilize it and to create an "ostensible revolutionary chaos." He underlined that the tent camp near the Presidency (the town of protest in support of fasting SDS MP Edvin Sugarev) could not be considered as posing a threat and should not be attached much importance to. The prime minister described the tent camp as part of the plan to destabilize the state: a hazardous plan made by "the most stubborn" members of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the SDS parliamentary group. In his opinion, these acts will be the ruin of the SDS. And the state needs the Union of Democratic Forces, Prime Minister Berov stressed.

Invited to forecast the further development of events, the prime minister said that the reforms would go on.

The prime minister described MP Edvin Sugarev's hunger strike as political buffoonery. In his view, Edvin Sugarev is a pawn in the hands of the actual authors of the plan for the destabilization of the state. The prime minister said that today's rally was one of the major reasons for his not leaving for Vienna to attend the human rights conference there. It is better to avert any danger here, he said.

Asked by journalists about the fate of the so-called town of protest Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov said that the problem was a political one, therefore it should be resolved by the National Assembly. He intends to refer the matter to the National Assembly on Wednesday, informing before that the MP's in detail about the state of the country's internal security.

Parties, Trade Unions Support Zhelev

AU1506105993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Late last night President Zhelev met with representatives of political, trade-union, and public organizations at their request. The meeting was attended by leaders of the ASP [Alternative Social Liberal Party], Bulgarian Liberals Party, BSDP [Bulgarian Social Democratic Party], DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], Democratic Women's Union, Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, Podkrepa Labor Confederation, New Alliance for Democracy, New Bulgaria Party, Federation of Student Clubs, and the Center for New Policy.

According to an announcement issued by the Presidential Press Center, the participants in the meeting stressed the need to resolutely oppose the attempts of a handful of failed, forgotten SDS leaders to impose their ambitions on the whole of society. Respect for the Constitution and the state institutions—that is what people want today, the Presidential Press Center release states.

Gatsinski Receives Polish Foreign Minister

AU1206185193 Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (BTA)—First Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Gatsinski met late last night with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Republic Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who stopped over in Sofia, the Foreign Ministry's Press Centre reported.

The two diplomats discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia in the context of the foreign ministers' meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which just ended in Athens. The two countries' integration into the European structures was also on the agenda.

Discussing bilateral ties, Mr. Gatsinski and Mr. Skubiszewski stressed that the Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation provided a fine framework for intensified contacts.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Assesses Sofia's Policy

AU1406165693 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Goran Gotev report: "Yugoslav Prime Minister Assesses Our Policy in Letter to Berov"]

[Text] In a letter to Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic positively assesses Bulgaria's principled policy in the Yugoslav conflict and expresses his deep regret in connection with the recent explosion on the grounds of the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade.

In his letter the Yugoslav prime minister positively assesses the consistent and principled policy Bulgaria has pursued so far in advocating a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis. He recalls with gratitude that Bulgaria not only opposes a military intervention in the crisis, but also declared that it will not allow the use its territory for such a purpose and appealed to its neighbors to refrain from participating in a military intervention. According to Kontic, all this is a good foundation of positively developing bilateral Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations. The Yugoslav prime minister explicitly dissociated himself from the anti-Bulgarian articles in the Yugoslav and Serbian mass media.

Radovan Jovic, head of the "Neighboring Countries" Department of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, also expressed regret in connection with the bomb explosion. For his part Yordan Kozhukharov, charge d'affaires at our embassy in Belgrade, insisted on rapidly clarifying the case, and finding and punishing the culprits, in order to prevent such criminal acts in the future. According to him the threats against members of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission in Belgrade continue.

Yugoslav and Serbian ministers, and Slobodanka Gruden, Belgrade mayor, also expressed regret in connection with the explosion.

Security Service Chief on Drug Traffic, Spying

AU1406130093 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 11 Jun 93 p 16

[Interview with Arlin Antonov, director of the National Security Service, by Angelina Petrova; place and date not given: "Arlin Antonov, National Security Service Director, Claims That We Have Corruption and Mafia of World Class, But He Will Not Yield"]

[Excerpts] [Petrova] Until recently, we were a transit state for the drug dealers. However, it now appears that they are trying to turn us into a market for their merchandise.

[Antonov] According to my information, until recently the drugs were only transported through our territory. However, we are now witnessing an attempt to leave a share of the drugs in Bulgaria. I think that this is not being done because the country is a promising market for this criminal organization. We will continue for a long time to be too poor for this expensive poison. I think that their plan is to turn a certain number of Bulgarians into drug-addicts and utilize them afterward as carriers of the drug through our territory.

[Petrova] As far as I know, the dealers refrain from using addicts as carriers of their "goods."

[Antonov] Yes, but addicts are very convenient in detracting attention from the real carriers. For example, they ask an addict to carry half a kilogram across the border. At the same time, the customs officials have been tipped off to intercept him. Later, the press will write about the active work of the customs authority against the drug traffic. Afterward, the real cargo of 500 kg, for example, will cross the border. Through the carrier, who has been caught on purpose, the dealers provide the customs officials, with whom they work, with an alibi. They really work with such people, because otherwise their "merchandise" will not pass. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] Who determines what foreign intelligence services are the target of the National Security Service's priority attention?

[Antonov] They all are the targets of our attention. I said, to both the CIA chief and the head of the British intelligence, that we could strive toward developing good relations, but as soon as we sense that they are working in Bulgaria against our national interests, the service I head will act against them.

[Petrova] Could you say whether the spying activities of those countries were intensified recently?

[Antonov] Those are things we cannot discuss. However, I could say one thing: At present we notice intensive activity against Bulgaria. We monitor this process. I do not want to say whether this applies to big or small states. However, there is an activity against Bulgaria. This means that our security services and the executive power must be alert, and our economy strengthened. We, first of all, must rely on ourselves. [passage omitted] If our economic disintegration continues I would not be surprised if we disappear as a nation and a state after several years. Every party can have its own program, on the basis of which it could assure us that we will have a wonderful life if it assumed power. However, there should be no differences among them in one area: Our national priorities must be identical.

[Petrova] Those priorities have not yet been determined.

[Antonov] Unfortunately, this is so. Perhaps this is our politicians' weakest point—the inability to determine the national priorities. [passage omitted]

[Petrova] Was your service's work hindered by the fact that General Semerdzhiev gave away, to the Americans, the eavesdropping equipment placed in their embassy?

[Antonov] I heard this rumor, but no one confirmed that it was Semerdzhiev who gave the equipment away.

[Petrova] However, the equipment is not there any longer, right?

[Antonov] Naturally, if we gave it away it does not exist any longer. In principle, those things are done throughout the world, but we do not talk about them. Every state must control those who act on its territory. This is a normal phenomenon. The control is being exercised not in order to compromise somebody, but in order to be convinced that he does not work against our national interests.

Rally for Democracy Becomes New Political Party

AU1306141493 Sofia BTA in English 1956 GMT 12 Jun 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Text] Sofia, June 12 (BTA)—Mr. Nikolay Slatinski MP, chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee on National Security, today left for Paris to attend the spring session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union.

"The constitutional ban on the establishment of ethnic-based parties is discriminatory and runs counter to the International Bill of Human Rights. In spite of this, the supremacy of the basic law must be respected and observed," presidential adviser Mikhail Ivanov told members of the United Romany Union today. A number of problems of the Romany population were raised at the meeting.

Mr. Evgeni Matinchev, deputy prime minister and minister of labour and social affairs, today returned from Geneva where he attended the 80th International Labour Conference. Mr. Matinchev told the conference that the Bulgarian Government is working out a completely new model of social security. The Bulgarian system of social partnership received exceedingly high marks. Mr. Matinchev raised with his German counterpart certain unilateral breaches by Germany of the agreement on employment of Bulgarians in that country, specifically the introduced limits to their wages. It was decided that in July a Bulgarian delegation will visit Germany to look into the matter on site.

Rally for Democracy was established today as a new political formation on the initiative of former members of the SDS-affiliated Social Democratic Party. The constituent meeting was attended by 77 delegates from Sofia and the provinces. The idea is to unite Social Democrats espousing neoliberal positions in the economy and the principles of social democracy as securing a balance of economic interests and social security during the transition to market economy. Rally for Democracy will aspire to be a centrist movement, to win people back to the "blue idea" (of the SDS) the way it was in its original form in 1990.

An agreement on joint operation of a permanent ro-ro traffic line on the Danube was signed today by the harbourmasters of Ruse, Bulgaria, and Reni, Ukraine, and by the managing director of Bulgarian River Lines. The launch of the new water transport link between Bulgaria and Ukraine in early August will provide yet another opportunity to ease the congestion of the bridge spanning the river at Ruse, where hundreds of heavy-duty trucks on both banks are waiting for days on end to cross the border, the local BTA correspondent reported.

Mr. Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission For Europe [ECE], undertook to report personally to the UN secretary general Bulgaria's request for compensation of the losses arising from the embargo against the former Yugoslavia, said Mr. Dinko Dinkov, adviser at the Council of Ministers, who attended the 29th session of senior government advisers of the ECE member countries in Geneva. On the motion of Bulgaria, the report of the session included a text on the policy of the European countries, the international organizations and the G-24 in connection with the difficulties experienced by countries which strictly observe the sanctions. The Bulgarian delegation was ready to hand a package of documents and alternative projects for loss compensation.

The desk officer of Civil Defence in Pernik (southwestern Bulgaria) reported that a bucketful of slag spilled at the local Stomana Steel Works at 1000 A.M. [0700 GMT] today, causing a fire which was extinguished within one hour. Eight persons suffered burns and were rushed to the Pirogov Emergency Hospital in Sofia. BTA learnt from the Investigating Magistrate on duty at the hospital that all injured workers were in the Intensive Care Ward. In two cases of severe burns, the patients' life is in danger.

Klaus Comments on Rail Union Agreement

AU1406174693 Prague CTK in English 1821 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus called the results of today's talks with representatives of railwaymen and their unions a beneficial compromise.

The financial problem—an extra 300 crowns (about 10 USD) a month retroactive to the beginning of the year—was solved with a lovely amount—151 crowns (about 5 USD), which does not allow any party to boast of a sweeping victory, Klaus said.

He also promised the state-run Czech Railways (CD) to increase their budget to compensate for the losses incurred in fulfilling some social functions, mainly carrying certain categories of citizens at reduced prices or free of charge (children, elderly and handicapped people, etc.).

Klaus also hailed the decision by the railwaymen's strike committee, made after today's talks with the government, to call off the three-hour strike planned on June 16.

The strike was to be held in support of the railwaymen's demands unless Transport Minister Jan Strasky delivers on his written promise to solve their demands. The unions gave 6:00 PM [1600 GMT] on June 15 as a deadline for negotiations.

Havel Discusses Bill on Constitutional Court

LD1306145293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Interview with President Havel by correspondent Tamchyna at the Lany presidential residence in Prague on 11 June; From the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, we are recording today's conversation at Lany Castle shortly before 1600 on Friday afternoon. Roughly 24 hours ago you signed the bill on the highest inspection office which had been criticized so much by the opposition. The press has today carried new objections, this time from you, in regard to the bill on the Constitutional Court. These concern primarily a vague and unprecise formulation of some provisions and they have made you to take a negative stand in your letter to Milan Uhde, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies.

[Havel] I would like to say above all that what has appeared in some newspapers—that I have threatened the parliament that I would not sign the bill—is not true. It is not my habit to threaten anyone. I have already spoken about the president's right to send back bills during our conversation last week. Nonetheless, I perhaps ought to return to it in a different connection. I understand the right to return bills to the parliament as a challenge to draw the president to a certain degree into the legislative process so that he would participate in it. I understand this to be an instrument of working cooperation between the parliament and the president. As to the purpose, it is insurance against the danger of making compromises when the collective wisdom of the parliament reaches an outcome with which no one in the end is satisfied. [passage omitted]

Taken together it can therefore happen that something contradictory may emerge. They may subsequently be glad that an individual constitutional official who still has the right to say something on the matter then sends the bill back because it then provides an opportunity to remove a fault in it. This is how I understand such a right. I understand it, as I said previously, as a challenge to enable the president to monitor the emergence of bills and if possible to express his view on them beforehand. This I have been doing in regard to a number of various bills. The latest case in which I have done so was precisely in regard to the bill on the Constitutional Court when I wrote a letter to the speaker of the parliament in which I drew attention to two matters with which I disagreed or which seem to me to be peculiar.

The main one of them is the matter which was included in the bill during the debate in the Constitutional and Legal Committee and which did not appear in the government's draft of the bill—that is that when the president appoints judges of the Constitutional Court and then the Senate must give its consent, it was said that if the Senate does not give its consent within 60 days it means that it agrees with them. This is logical. This has its parallel in various constitutional systems. The Constitutional and Legal Committee changed it to mean precisely the opposite, that is that unless the parliament expresses itself on the matter within 60 days it means that it has not approved the judges and that it therefore did not give its consent. This means that a mere inactivity of the parliament could lead to these judges not being able to take up their office and that the court therefore could not come into existence physically. This in fact would not oblige the parliament or it would not press it to express itself on the appointed judges. This is my main objection against this bill.

The second objection is rather of a character that goes into the roots of the system. It appears to me a bit inappropriate, and I would say directly undignified, that such a specific criminal offense such as high treason—the words high treason appear only in the Constitution—that this offense which only one person, i.e. the president, can commit and which is not defined in the criminal code that it should all of sudden be defined in an implementing a bill. This is the bill on the constitutional course which is very thick and which contains thousands of technical provisions how the court is functioning and the like, and all of sudden there appears in the meantime completely unorganically and out of the blue high treason is defined.

It appears to me that such a serious matter should be defined either directly in the Constitution or a constitutional law or in the criminal law. It could be defined in effect in the form of a finding of the Constitutional Court. My objection is rather of style. It simply appears to me not nice, illogical, strange but this in itself would decidedly not be enough for me to return the bill. The first matter of which I have been talking is more serious. [passage omitted]

In this context I would like to point out the honorable deed of the crew of our ship Otava who, though not obliged to do so, gave refuge to unfortunate victims affected by shipwrecks in Somalia, that tragic and suffering country.

I would also like to point out the series of cultural events which has started these days with the objective of raising funds for the fight against AIDS. It is an event which arouses active human interest. It motivates people to participate. It confronts the fact of general insensitivity.

AIDS is a typical example. It is something which we know exists but think does not intrinsically concern us in any way but which starts concerning us exactly at that moment when someone we know tells us he has contracted the disease. Otherwise, I have the impression that it is something which evokes similar feelings in the society like the plague did in the past. Feelings that the people are dirty, that it is necessary to avoid them or that they are even guilty in some way. That is not so. Any person may be afflicted with this disease. [passage omitted]

Klaus Discusses Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU1406202193 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 9 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Martin Schmarcz and Martin Danes; place and date not given: "The Collapse of Communism Also Represents a Challenge for the European Community"]

[Text] [CESKY DENIK] Your government has completed about one quarter of its term of office. What do you consider to be your cabinet's greatest failure and—on the other hand—its greatest success?

[Klaus] I do not consider any one specific thing to be our greatest success; but, what I do consider to be a success is the fact that we are still pushing forward, that we are making progress in the essential areas where we want to make progress, and that there have been no significant oscillations, deviations, or backtracking. Despite all the squabbles we see and hear, I believe the government coalition is strong and that, in this sense, its constitution is not in danger. This is what I consider to be an undeniable success, and it is pointless to itemize the particular details. What I consider to be a failure are the minutiae behind this global process. Something could have been done better, something could have been done more quickly, or something could have been done slightly differently. I do not think this involves a conceptual failure, but is rather the failure of individual people who did not understand or who underestimated this or that task.

[CESKY DENIK] Your government's policy statement says that the government considers the current pace of economic reform to be the lower acceptable limit. Do you think that, after one year in office, you have succeeded in sticking to your resolution to speed up reform (even in view of the federation's breakup), especially in privatization?

[Klaus] This was not so much a sentence as a proclamation that said: We are not 100-percent satisfied with the pace of reform. If the brakes were applied to reform, then it was in the first half of 1992 when the preparations for the elections tied the hands of all the participants. I would not say that we in any way significantly slowed down the pace of reform. Undoubtedly, if we could have devoted more months of last fall to normal issues and not to the state's division, we would have been further ahead. However, we have to say that the breakup of the state did more to complicate the economic situation than it did to slow down the pace of reform as such.

[CESKY DENIK] You do not attach, then, fundamental importance to the deceleration of the privatization process...

[Klaus] The Privatization Ministry is the way it is. Under immense pressure about whether to give preference to speed or to quality, Skalicky's ministry—as opposed to Jezek's ministry—inclined itself more in the latter direction. For this reason, the number of privatized enterprises is fewer than I would have wished. However, I do not see any simple way of speeding up this process—by issuing instructions or orders or by changing the rules. Another factor comes into this: Fewer burdensome enterprises have—in essence—been privatized, and so we are left with the more difficult ones. The pace of privatization has also been slowed down for this reason.

[CESKY DENIK] Do you mean the indebted giants, mainly in heavy industry?

[Klaus] The financial problems of these enterprises are one thing. Various other problems are, unquestionably, another thing. What I mean is complicated internal structures, enterprises that are not integrated, enterprises that are hard to divide into smaller components, and enterprises with ambiguous property relations and a combination of compensated and uncompensated parts.

[CESKY DENIK] Statistical data at the end of last year pointed to economic recovery. The figures for the first four months of this year, however, point to something else. The government and the new chairman of the Czech Statistical Office have cast doubts on these figures. What is your assessment of current economic development?

[Klaus] First of all, you know very well that I have raised many questions about these figures—I even went into this issue in some detail in a column for CESKY DENIK (on 14 May—Editor). The new data also cast doubt on these figures. The Statistical Office has, for example, conducted a review of its estimates of development in industrial output during the first quarter. Instead of the shocking decline of 8.1 percent, it came up with the figure of 5.7 percent. This is not a negligible difference. Second, a drop in trade with Slovakia is involved here, which has to have an impact on the fundamental macroeconomic aggregates. In other words, if I wanted to talk about whether there is or is not a recovery under way in our economy, I would try to separate this result from the consequences of the decline in trade with Slovakia. If I were to do this and concede that, for example, industrial output has declined during the first quarter by something between 2 and 5 percent, and if I subtract from this figure that which has been decreed by a higher power—the considerable loss of the Slovak markets—then, I would say that all the remaining components of aggregate demand have more or less increased. That is, if I were to separate the economic results from the impact of the decline in trade with Slovakia, I would say that the recovery we witnessed in the third and fourth quarters of '92 is certainly continuing.

[CESKY DENIK] After prolonged delays, the law on bankruptcies eventually came into effect. It seems, however, that—first and foremost—the banks are not interested in an avalanche-like increase in bankruptcies and that the number of declared bankruptcies will also not increase dramatically. Do you think this trend will continue?

[Klaus] I am 100-percent convinced that the bankruptcy process—like the whole series of other economic processes that we have initiated during the past three and a half years—will be a smooth process and will not be quite as dramatic as some pessimists keep forecasting. We have certainly not reached the peak, this still lies ahead. However, I do not believe this will involve a discontinuous process whereby, at one point, everything will collapse and then start again from scratch.

[CESKY DENIK] One of the priorities of the government's policy statement was the introduction of a new taxation system. How do you now assess this step?

[Klaus] I have to admit that I was far more afraid of this moment than I let the public know. If I count all the problems that cropped up, I have to say that they were fewer and more workable than I had thought and I hope that we will be capable of defusing, eliminating, and eradicating them. In a number of Western countries the introduction of a new taxation system—prepared over decades by highly qualified people—meant that for the next two years the taxation law was altered three or four times per annum and that these minor mistakes were put right. I have a feeling that it has turned out well in our country.

[CESKY DENIK] What we actually meant was the system for tax collection. In your opinion, how well equipped are the revenue authorities to prevent tax evasion?

[Klaus] I referred to the taxation system in the first half of my reply, now let me talk about the tax collection system in the second half. I am under no illusion that we are perfectly equipped to deal with this—it is the same with everything, however. We do not have a stockpile of people who have been preparing for decades to become tax collectors in a free market economy. There was no such group of people here, and it cannot be created by a government resolution or a new law.

[CESKY DENIK] The European Community countries react to their current economic difficulties, among other things, by increasing trade protectionism against the countries in our region. In a speech delivered recently in Barcelona, you condemned the EC's trade and industry policy, which, in the final analysis, affects everyone. You also appealed for a "profound, and not just rhetorical, reassessment of European institutions and policies." What exactly did you mean?

[Klaus] I have no doubt that in the current Maastricht era, when the European Community and its institutions are searching for their place, there is undoubtedly—and must be—a massive intellectual buzz of activity nudging the fundamental ideas, the building blocks, of the European Community institutions in a certain direction. The time is right for this to be in a direction toward more liberal and less regulatory principles. If Europe were to squander this chance now, it would be, in my opinion, very bad. It is not true that the collapse of the communist empire represents a challenge just for us, it also represents a challenge for the EC. Therefore, it is essential for it to reformulate its fundamental policies and perspectives.

I doubt that the generation which took the European Community to where it is today is capable of this new way of thinking. The question is who will seize the baton from them and who will nudge everything forward in a different direction. Even we should not stand by the wayside here.

In the EC more and more suggestions are beginning to be made—under various slogans—for a hard core and a peripheral, less hard shell. You also hear statements about various speeds in individual processes or about Europe's changing geometry. It seems to me that the orientation of this process is clear. It does not involve a homogeneous group of countries, not even in the case of those countries that have been in the EC since 1957. Obviously, it would be better for us to join the European Community the way it was 20 years ago. Entering Europe in the Maastricht era is much more complicated for all the new countries signing up to join.

[CESKY DENIK] According to some observers, the Maastricht Treaty was an attempt to avoid responding to the urgent issues raised in Europe by the collapse of the

Iron Curtain and to shore up the defensive wall against the new applicants for membership. Do you agree with this analysis?

[Klaus] This is easier for an independent journalist than a prime minister to comment upon. Nevertheless, in reply to the first part of your question: Yes, Maastricht was, in my opinion, a response to something other than the response required at the given moment.

[CESKY DENIK] Are there differences in the approach by representatives from individual EC countries to the issue of our joining its structures?

[Klaus] Major, huge, and far more profound differences than may appear at first glance.

[CESKY DENIK] The Coalition Four recently agreed to initiate a dialogue at a "lower party level" with Sudeten German representatives. Is the government prepared for an eventual reassessment of some of the current status quos in its approach to the Sudeten issue?

[Klaus] These are not intended to be party-level talks. The chairmen of the Czech Republic's preeminent parties will—in the meantime—hold talks on whom to include in such a group. We have been looking for people not immediately involved in topflight politics.

As far as the second part of your question is concerned, it seems to me that the government does not have to change anything in its policy. If anyone has to change anything in its policy, then it is undoubtedly the Sudeten German side. I believe that a certain amount of sobriety will set in there following the strong-arm speeches made during the Sudeten German Days where tens of thousands of listeners applauded each speaker.

A dialogue is our first goal. It is necessary to state our position candidly and to listen to the point of view of the other side, which is not—and I am absolutely convinced of this—at all identical to the point of view expressed at the Sudeten German Days. This is 95 percent of the task of the first round of meetings of this kind. What it would be possible to achieve—it is stupid to say as a concession, but rather as an offer for a partial solution—is another matter that is not currently on the agenda.

[CESKY DENIK] What do you think of the additional refusal by the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] to take part in the talks?

[Klaus] This is a standard maneuver by this political party, which is still trying to play a shrewd game, not, I think, with much success. It is not completely clear to me whether this refusal is the opinion of individuals within the ODA or of the ODA as a whole.

[CESKY DENIK] The public senses that relations between the president and the government are strained. Sometimes this becomes obvious, especially between the Castle and the Cernin Palace. How is your personal cooperation with the president, and are you continuing the regular consultations that you announced recently?

[Klaus] I do not know whether the assessment that relations between the government and the president are strained is correct. As the president and the government are not one and the same, then partial differences of opinion on this or that issue undoubtedly crop up. This is absolutely normal, and I would not refer to it as obvious tension. Journalists devote less attention to my regular meetings with the president than they did at the beginning. I am not aware of great tension during them. Perhaps some of the people around the president have different views on the matter, but I do not see any tension.

[CESKY DENIK] The situation in Bosnia is grave. This is the first military conflict in Europe since the end of World War II. The international community is vacillating between an urgent intervention and passivity. Without demanding a solution from you, do you think the international community should be more inclined toward an active intervention?

[Klaus] I think the international community has long passed the point of making an active intervention that would be quick, as painless as possible, and propel the issue toward some kind of solution. It missed this chance due to a lack of unity on the part of Europe and insufficient orientation in this issue on the part of the U.S. Administration. I am afraid that force would now do more harm than good.

Second: Any external activity would require an unequivocal analysis of the situation and not just a superficial division of the warring sides into good and bad, into those whom it is necessary to wipe out and those whom it is necessary to support on the basis of simple cliches. I am unaware of any clear analysis by the West and I very much agree with the views expressed by Henry Kissinger, who unequivocally rejects the idea that the issue involves unilateral aggression by one part of the former Yugoslavia against its other parts. I believe that the international organizations' entire hitherto initiative is based on the paradigm that such one-sided aggression is involved here. If this hypothesis were to be no longer valid—and I am afraid that many signs indicate that this is the case—then external activity would not bring a solution.

[CESKY DENIK] Differences of opinion began to emerge after the first six months of your term of office. Prior to this, the coalition had been united by the constitutional and legal talks, the need to ensure the functioning of the state, and the adoption of a constitution. Do you consider the intra-coalition disputes to be a natural consequence of the variety of opinions and the search for optimum solutions, or do you think there should be greater unanimity among all the governing parties?

[Klaus] If there is an external enemy (or external partner so I do not mean it badly), then internal polemics and disputes either recede into the background or they are not so obvious. At the moment, when there is no such external brake, it is true that these differences—which have, by the way, more to do with personal differences and individuals' ambitions than with fundamental policy—come to the forefront. I have to say that, although I am always hearing pessimistic views from various places, I do not think the government coalition's cohesion is impaired in any significant way.

[CESKY DENIK] These are two different levels. If the coalition's cohesion were impaired, we would consider it a catastrophic scenario. Of course, on the second level, the question is whether the differences of opinion within the coalition really are caused by the search for an optimum solution, or whether the attempt to score points—for instance, to the detriment of a coalition partner—is impairing the work of the coalition.

[Klaus] I must say that if such a pointed question were to be asked—and, for the moment, I will accept that it is—then I would say that the overwhelming majority of differences derive from an attempt to score partial points in an imaginary political popularity poll and not from substantial or crucial differences of opinion on this or that issue. The exception is church property. Every political party that begins with the word Christian simply must have a different opinion on this issue than a political party beginning with the word Civic. If, however, absolute unity were to prevail in everything, there would be no reason for the existence of four different political parties.

[CESKY DENIK] We will try to ask an even more pointed question. Do you not feel that, for example, the ODA is scoring these points due to the fact that it is playing the role of a kind of internal opposition within the framework of the coalition?

[Klaus] Unquestionably, the ODA is doing this, and I do not know how I would talk it out of it. The question is different: Is it worth it for us to do something similar? My reply is that it is not. I also cannot imagine how I would do this. I would be deceiving myself and everyone else, because, after a government session, I would have to appear at a news conference and say: The government has decided this and this, but if I had my way, then we would do it more resourcefully and a bit better. I think everyone would view this behavior as a symptom of madness, because no one would expect this from a serious politician and the prime minister. The ODA, to my great surprise, is always forgiven for this behavior. It is another matter whether it will be of any benefit to this political party; I have the feeling that it will not.

[CESKY DENIK] The latest dispute within the coalition concerns church restitution. The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] and the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] have put forward their views, while the fundamental disagreement lies in the scope of the restitution. Does the ODS intend to reach a compromise with the Christian parties on this issue, or will it stick to its point of view that—for example—forests and agricultural land should not be returned?

[Klaus] I will say that the ODS does not intend to compromise on certain fundamental issues, but—at the same time—I do not want to talk about this or that land; we would be jumping the gun a little here. The dispute between the ODS and the KDU-CSL or the Christian Democratic Party is not only about the scope of the restitution, it is about something far more general. It is about whether a fundamentally different role should be ascribed to the church than to other organizations in this country. Of course, I respect the important role the church plays in society. However, I refuse to accept that it is an irreplaceable, privileged role; that is the fundamental difference between us. The second important difference concerns whether the issue of church property should be resolved separately from all the other issues, as the Christian parties would like, or whether it should be taken as part and parcel of the new definition of relations between the church and state. The question of whether the list of property handed over to the church should include one or two things more or less is, I think, the upshot of these two more general disputes.

[CESKY DENIK] In your opinion, then, the issue does not so much concern specific property as the church's influence and status in society?

[Klaus] We lived through an era noted for its labelling of some institutions as better, higher, and more exemplary than other institutions. This era is—I hope—definitively behind us and, thanks to it, we are far more sensitive about certain things than—for example—people in Western Europe. We are oversensitive to Maastricht interventionist-centralist elements. We are oversensitive to a whole series of issues of this kind. Unfortunately, we are also oversensitive to the privileged status of a single institution. There is also a great difference between the formulations I hear from certain Christian politicians and the statements I hear from the church itself and read—for example—in the letter from Archbishop Vlk.

[CESKY DENIK] One year has passed since the parliamentary elections and you now have another year to prepare for the local elections. The ODS triumphed in the parliamentary elections largely due to its transparency and to the fact that it offered a specific program—or vision of the future—with which a great many voters identified. What kind of strategy are you preparing for the local elections? Are your prospects better or worse than they were in the general elections?

[Klaus] First: We are not preparing a fundamentally different program for these elections. What our slogans will be and what the external aspect will be are something else; however, we will certainly not change the basis. These will be local elections and, thus, will be on a lower community level than the parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, I think these local elections will have a political element. It is not so long since the demise of communism and these elections will have a certain political flavor and will not concern exclusively local problems. Moreover, if they are coupled with the elections to the Senate—or, as the case may be, to higher territorial units—elements from community and local elections will be interlinked in them.

Finally, I would say that the variety of specific local issues—which do not have a very ideological character—will lead in a number of places to the formation of far more assorted coalitions than on a nationwide scale.

[CESKY DENIK] In this case, are you not concerned that the ODS' results could be worse than in the parliamentary elections?

[Klaus] Certainly. The results for the political parties that bear the burden of this country's transformation from communism to a democratic society will undoubtedly be worse at the local level, because in them the issue involves whether a particular mayor ran things better or worse than other mayors.

[CESKY DENIK] The territorial-administrative division issue is also associated with the local elections. Do you think parliament will soon come to an agreement on this issue?

[Klaus] I do not want to make any predictions, but I would say at least this: I think it is necessary for those who hold extreme views to make some concessions, because, if we maintain an extreme position, we will be faced with a single grave danger—that we will not achieve our new territorial-administrative division. If a broader quasi-coalition is not formed with regard to this issue, then we will not adopt this supplement to the Constitution and we will hold elections to the current bodies as we know them. Therefore, I hope the view will prevail among the majority that this would be a mistake and that the necessary consensus will be found.

[CESKY DENIK] What good things would you venture to promise your voters up to the year 1996, when you will submit your cabinet's closing account?

[Klaus] I do not want to make any predictions, but I hope that we will not have to face any more scourges such as Czechoslovakia's breakup or the collapse of the Eastern bloc and its institutions. In this sense, the coming years should be calmer. They should—without doubt—presage an end to the current recession in Western countries. This should bring a reduction in protectionism and, therefore, greater opportunities for our economy to assert itself on world markets. These factors should, in any case, be to our benefit and I am convinced that 1996 will mean plain sailing, that all the essential privatization processes will have been completed, and that the economic system will be stable. In this sense, we will be quite well prepared for the new parliamentary elections.

Interior Minister Ruml Discusses Crime Increase

AU1106165993 Prague CTK in English 2009 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Hustopece, south Moravia, June 9 (CTK)—Crime rate in the Czech Republic has risen by 300 percent since 1989 and 90 percent are property offenses, mainly robberies and thefts, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml said at a meeting with Hustopece citizens today.

Despite this, the Czech Republic's situation in the crime area is the best among the former Soviet Union's satellite countries, and better than in many Western European countries, including the Netherlands and Germany, Ruml said.

The equipment of the Czech Police is far from being comparable with the countries mentioned, and the police lacks 5,000-6,000 men, Ruml noted.

Czech Justice Minister Jiri Novak, who also attended the meeting, said that the Czech citizens' fear of crime resulted mainly from media's writing about the problem.

Financial Aspect of Czech-Slovak Border

AU1106150793 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, June 10 (CTK)— Slovak newspapers today focus on the prepared establishment of border crossings on the Czech-Slovak border.

The trade union daily PRACA carries an interview with Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml who says that the goal of the envisaged measure is to make possible control over the movement of foreigners from third countries who are not allowed to cross the border anywhere else except at border crossings.

Ruml points out that introducing a standard administration on the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics concerned only nationals from other countries. Citizens of the Czech and Slovak Republics can freely move on the whole of both republics' territories and they can cross the border anywhere they like and at any time, Ruml says. He adds that under the so-called standard administration, even if a green border was guarded by police it would not be closed.

Regarding financial assistance Germany is expected to provide to the Czech Republic as compensation for the situation resulting from changes in the German asylum law, Ruml says that if the Czech Republic received this money it would not be used for the construction of the Czech-Slovak border, but to equip Border Police with communications systems and cars as well as to improve the information system by installing a series of computers.

Ruml notes that the question of whether or not the Czech Republic would share this money with Slovakia had not been discussed. He believes, however, that Germany would be willing to provide financial aid to Slovakia as well.

Ruml says the Czechs were interested in constructing border crossings jointly with Slovakia, noting that the construction of only one such installment might cost up to 300,000 million crowns (approximately 10,000 million USD). Unfortunately we have met a lack of understanding on the Slovak side which is forcing us to build these objects on our own, Ruml says.

The independent daily NARODNA OBRODA directs its attention to the same topic. It writes that Ruml's strong words about the Czech Republic's intention to undertake unilateral steps have not so far been backed up by activity on the Czech side. The daily states that the Czech Government has not even included the interior minister's proposals in its schedule and that no discussion of the border question is expected. A lack of concrete actions was apparently caused by differences between the Czech interior and foreign ministries over visa requirements, the daily alleges. [passage omitted]

Lux Calls For Acceleration of Farm Leases

AU1406154693 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 11 (CTK)—Czech Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux and the Chairman of Agricultural Trade Unions, Bohumir Dufek, today agreed on speeding up the privatization and leasing of the state farms, Agriculture Ministry Spokeswoman Marcela Dvorakova told CTK today.

Lux pointed out the complexity of privatization, arising mainly from a large number of restitutions. While there are 1,434 restitutions in industry and trade, in agriculture, the figure comes to 228,179, which is about 160 times more. For example, restitutions make up 40.5 percent of all state farms, Lux said.

He also acquainted Dufek with a conception of regional programs. He emphasized that the financial resources earmarked for those programs had to be used for entrepreneurs employing the people from state farms, and the like.

Dufek said that the trade unions supported the programs and would insist on their realization.

Government To Reduce Uranium Mining To Minimum

AU1106162993 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 8 (CTK)—At their regular session, Czech Government ministers today agreed to reduce uranium mining to the minimum.

The price of Czech uranium is much higher than world prices, which have declined, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said after the session.

Uranium mining in the Czech Republic is annually subsidised by billions of crowns from the state budget. The fact must be also taken into account that Slovakia has refused to continue buying uranium from the Czech Republic, Klaus noted.

Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy was charged with working out a conservation variant, under which uranium mining would be reduced to a minimum without being completely terminated. On the contrary, it should be possible to resume it later if necessary. The variant is to be presented within several weeks.

Dlouhy Comments on Future of Uranium

LD1106210293 Prague CTK in English 1914 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 11 (CTK)—A complete shutdown of the uranium mining industry could be an irreversible decision with regard to the possible future revival of the industry, Minister of Trade and Industry Vaclav Dlouhy told journalists today.

However, he added, the chemical mining processes were such that they would need to be cleaned up to a certain level by 2003.

It was very difficult to quantify the cost of a complete shutdown of the industry, and above all to calculate the cost of complete liquidation, including its social costs, with that of continuing operation at a later date, he said.

Dlouhy said that the basic factors were not strategic, but economic, explaining that worldwide prices of uranium were now very low, and Czech prices were too high to compete. The world market had been influenced by cheap raw material from the Soviet Union, and this had affected the cost of Czech uranium mining. Slovakia now preferred to buy its uranium from Russia, and the Czech energy works (CEZ) had lowered its consumption.

On the other hand, he added, the world now mined much less uranium than it consumed, because the countries of the former Soviet Union were selling off their supplies. The decision to stop uranium mining now depended on whether uranium prices in the late 1990s would increase so as to make Czech mining competitive. Uranium was an unusual commodity in that its immediate prices were much lower than those for long-term supplies, Dlouhy explained.

Alternatives being considered by ministers were immediate liquidation, but here paying benefits to miners would be a considerable expense for the state budget. Another alternative was to reduce chemical and deep mining. The retention variant would allow for mining to be quickly revived if need be.

The final form which the reduction of uranium mining will take would be decided by the end of June, Dlouhy said, calling the decision one of the hardest the ministry has to make this year.

Dyba Says Foreign Aid of 'Marginal Importance'

AU1406174193 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Hradec Kralove, East Bohemia (CTK)—Foreign financial aid has only a marginal importance within the whole process of the Czech economy's transformation, Czech Economic Minister Karel Dyba told journalists today.

Speaking after a regional meeting of the communities' councillors from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), he said that the Czech Government appreciated this aid, which had been very efficient in some cases. However, these funds must be used in the most effective way, Dyba stressed.

Only a minimum portion of these means should be earmarked for paying expensive foreign consultants or firms. There are many good experts in the Czech Republic, who do not need long-term contacts with foreigners to be able to make correct decisions, Dyba said.

After this week's Prague session of the G-24 group, Dyba said that the Czech Republic could not expect a big increase in foreign financial aid from the group.

In 1993, the funds will be used mainly to support private businesses and development of local administrations.

Expresses Optimism for Economic Development

LD1406162893 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 14 (CTK)—Minister of Economy Karel Dyba told journalists today he was optimistic that the Czech gross domestic production would be higher this year than in 1992.

Dyba said the positive development was evidenced by the country's low inflation rate, the lowering of the discount rate and a decrease in the number of large companies. He also said the process of privatisation should be accelerated.

He warned, however, that rising wages presented a danger. They could damage the competitiveness of Czech goods, he said, pointing to the low wages in Ukraine and Bulgaria. The low unemployment rate in some regions, especially in Prague, was also causing poor discipline at work, wage growth and a lack of qualified staff, Dyba said.

He added that another negative development was the lower number of foreign tourists, which could be traced to growing crime and bad services.

Recession in Western countries and the resulting wave of protectionism were further dangers as well, he concluded.

Government Approves Army Reduction

AU1106163893 Prague CTK in English 1943 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 9 (CTK)—The Czech Government today approved a reduction of the Czech Army from 100,000 men at present down to 65,000 as proposed in a concept for the Army's restructuring until 1996.

Premier Vaclav Klaus said the government did not agree with various economic implications of the concept. On the contrary, it charged Defense Minister Antonin Baudys with elaborating the financial-economic aspect of the concept.

The government also approved a draft amendment to the law on state administration and self-administration in the area of education.

The amendment allows all communities which cannot fund pre-school and out-of-school facilities, such as kindergartens, to ask parents to make a payment not exceeding 30 percent of overall costs. Low- income families would be exempted from the duty.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 10 June on page 2 carries a 300-word "tk"-signed report on the Czech Government session. Referring to the government-approved concept for the Army's restructuring, the MLADA FRONTA DNES report adds: "The Army will be based on the brigade system and will consist of three types of forces—ground forces, the air force, and air defense troops. The ground forces will be subdivided into field troops, the rapid deployment force, and territorial defense troops. The Air Force command is to be based at Hradec Kralove while the command of the air defense troops is to be based at Stara Boleslav."]

Restoration of Church Properties Restricted

AU1406154793 Prague CTK in English 2031 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 11 (CTK) — A commission of the Czech ruling coalition today agreed that not all property that had been confiscated by the communist regime, can be returned to the Churches.

The commission is to recommend a settlement of ownership relations between the state and churches.

Viktor Dobal from the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) said that the commission noted that the state was not capable of compensating the Churches for its property devastated under the communist regime.

Restitutions should concern property which was owned by churches, orders, congregations and Church communities as of February 25, 1948 (when the communists seized power in the country) and whose ownership was transferred to the state before January 1, 1990, or which was used by the state or state organizations, Dobal said.

He added that the volume of property to be returned had not been determined as yet. The ODA thinks that the volume should be proposed by Churches, orders, congregations and religious organizations. The proposal would serve as a fundamental material for political discussions.

The property which serves diplomatic purposes should not be subject of restitution, the ODA said.

The ruling coalition has been split on the restitution of Church property. The Christian parties—the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS)—insist on total restitution.

The civic parties - the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the ODA—support restitution of only part of the property, namely that which the Churches need for their activity.

In an exchange of differing views with KDU-CSL chairman Josef Lux on Czech Radio today, Czech Premier and ODS chairman Vaclav Klaus said his party wanted to find a reasonable relation between the state and church in a country in which only a minority of the population are markedly Church-orientated.

At a press conference earlier today Lux said that it would be appropriate for the state to declare via law that it had never taken possession of Church property and therefore could not have transferred it to communities. Thus communities' agreement with restitution would be unnecessary, Lux added.

Reacting to this on radio, Klaus said: Either the (Church) property is in the ownership of the state or communities, and then it is legitimate for us to discuss how and how much of it should be returned to the Churches. Or, it is not in the ownership of the state or communities, and then I am withdrawing from any coalition discussions on Church property.

In the latter case, Klaus would leave it up to the Churches to apply a usual way of claiming the property in court.

Minister Holds Briefing on Coupon Privatization

AU1406162293 Prague CTK in English 1236 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—Out of the expected 120-130 billion crowns (4-4.3 billion USD) worth of property marked for the second wave of voucher privatisation, the Ministry For the Administration and Privatisation of National Property has so far only transferred some 70 billion to the National Property Fund.

Privatisation Minister Jiri Skalicky announced at a press conference today that it is possible the property actually transferred in the end will be worth a little less than originally expected. The ministry, however, in no way wants to offer non-viable enterprises in the voucher privatisation process.

Certain details of voucher privatisation such as exact terms, prices of vouchers, and lists of enterprises will be determined by a government decree which could be issued after July, assuming that the amendment to the law on transformation is approved, Skalicky said.

On May 31, 1993, the Privatisation Ministry transferred to the National Property Fund privatisation projects for 4,893 entities worth a total 527 billion crowns (17.5 billion USD). Out of this, 420 billion crowns of property are already in someone's ownership.

Privatisation of the health service poses greater problems than in other sectors, said Skalicky.

By the end of April, his ministry had received 4,969 privatisation projects in the health sector. A number of projects had not yet been handed in, although the government had decreed that they should be in by the end of last year, and then by the end of this January.

Skalicky also said that the standard of the health projects was lower than in other sectors. The projects are complicated by confusion surrounding ownership of property, which is largely caused by the chaotic delimitation of local health care institutions. Unfeasible business schemes are also a frequent phenomenon.

Unemployment Declines in May

AU1406180893 Prague CTK in English 0702 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 11 (CTK)—The rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic during the final days of May was only 2.58 percent, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs reported yesterday. Of the country's 5,266,655 citizens of working age, only 142,639 people were unemployed.

Unemployment fell all over the Czech Republic in May, with Prague, at 12.77 percent, registering the largest drop. The rate for the entire Czech Republic now averages 4.56 percent, and there are only 74,441 vacant job positions in the country, of which 17,353 are in Prague.

Northern Moravia, at 4.38 percent, is experiencing the highest rate of unemployment, followed by north Bohemia with 3.1 percent. Outside Prague, the lowest rate of unemployment (1.95 percent) was registered in south Bohemia, which also has the lowest number of vacant job positions (5,313). Central Bohemia has the second highest number of vacant positions after Prague (9,818).

Industrial Output Falls in First Four Months

AU1406180693 Prague CTK in English 1206 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 11 (CTK)—The erosion of Czech industrial output cut deeper this April than one year earlier, according to figures for the first four months of the year given to CTK by the Czech statistics office today.

Construction, however, was up, as well as turnover in small-sized shops.

The total industrial output from January through April 1993 was 5 percent lower than in the same period in 1992.

The output of self-employed individuals and of companies of up to 100 employees was significantly higher, while companies having 1,000-1,400 employees and 3,000-4,000 employees showed a drop in output of 16 percent and 14 percent respectively.

Industrial output was up 2.8 percent, and total sales were higher by 2 percent. Export sales were up by 18.3 percent. The number of industrial workers was down 6.5 percent, but monthly wages were up by 22.4 percent. Productivity per head was 9.9 percent.

The slump in construction is beginning to level out, as April figures show with a 5.1 percent improvement in the situation since a year ago. Nonetheless, construction output still trails last year's figure by 5.3 percent.

The volume of overall road transport stayed behind last year's figures by 22.8 percent, while that of international road transit only by 4.8 percent.

Although the April figures confirm that this year's trend toward road transport is positive, this year's volume represents only 90.2 percent of last year's for the same period.

Railway transport was down by 5.5 percent, in April alone down by 11.7 percent from a year ago.

River transport was 8.5 percent lower than in the same period a year ago. The volume of river transport was lower in April than in March, but still more than double the total for January and February.

Domestic trade was 1.3 percent higher in material volume, reaching 124.5 billion korunas ($4.2 billion), up by 21.5 percent in current prices from a year ago.

The total amount of foreign trade (except with Slovakia) for the January to April period stood at 161.4 billion korunas ($5.5 billion), 13.3 percent up from a year ago. Imports were up by 18.9 percent, exports by 8.4 percent. With 38.3 percent, imports from the European Community registered the highest rise, but imports from the European Free Trade Association were up by 30 percent. Imports from the former Soviet Union decreased by a marked 23.1 percent.

Czech exports to EC countries notched up 14.8 percent over the same period a year ago, and to the countries of the former Soviet Union 12.3 percent.

Czech imports totalled 78.7 billion korunas ($2.7 billion) and exports 82.6 billion korunas ($2.8 billion), resulting in a trade surplus of 3.9 billion korunas ($130 million).

Taking trade with Slovakia into account, the exports figure is another 2.1 billion korunas ($70 million) higher, making for a total trade surplus of 6 billion korunas ($200 million). The picture would have been different but for April, which was responsible for a trade deficit of 4 billion korunas ($136 million).

Czech exports in April totalled 18.6 billion korunas ($632.4 million), down 6.7 percent from the same month last year, and imports reached 21.9 billion korunas ($744.6 million), or 10.7 percent up.

Moravcik on Talks With Secretary Christopher

LD1406204593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Several days ago Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik returned from Greece; he is in Bonn today. His agenda had to be changed because of a hurriedly organized meeting in Vienna between the chief of U.S. diplomacy, Warren Christopher, and three leading countries of the CSCE. Shortly after Minister Moravcik's arrival in Bonn, our permanent correspondent to Bonn, Bratislav Zvara, asked him about the content of this talks and the objectives of his visit to Germany.

[Begin Moravcik recording] It was a meeting between the three leading countries of the CSCE and Warren Christopher, which was convened at his instigation. It was announced rather late and consequently it was not possible to adjust my agenda. The issues which were tackled concerned Europe and the most pressing problems related to military conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nagorno-Karabakh. These were the main points on the agenda of the meeting.

Although the meeting was comparatively short, it was rich in content. We evaluated the situation in these regions from the viewpoint of CSCE authority, and from the viewpoint of being able to positively influence the entire process of solving these conflicts. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Kovac News Conference Marks 100 Days in Office

AU1206151493

[Editorial Report] Slovak dailies on 10 June carry 150 to 600-word TA SR and their own correspondents' reports on a news conference given by President Michal Kovac in Bratislava on 9 June, on the occasion of his 100th day in office. Apart from the president's comments on the possibility of early elections, the press reports also quote Kovac's remarks on his recent visit to Italy, his planned visit to Hungary, minority issues, and the proposed laws on the protection of the republic and the National Security Council.

Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 10 June on page 2 carries a 150-word TA SR report entitled "Will the Presidents Meet?" The report states: "Speaking about his planned visit to the Hungarian Republic, scheduled to take place on 20 June at the invitation of President Arpad Goncz, Slovak President Michal Kovac said that the Hungarian side was making the visit conditional on an agreement [between Slovakia and Hungary] on the water regime at the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. Michal Kovac stressed that he was ready to meet the Hungarian president and that he was only waiting for the Hungarian side to take the necessary steps."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 10 June on pages 1-2 carries a 500-word Martin Hric report on President Kovac's news conference entitled "What Did the President Whisper About With the Pope?" According to the report, the president was asked what he thought about the proposal of one of his advisers, Roman Kalisky, that the Slovak parliament adopt a law on the protection of the republic. Referring to Kovac's reply, the report says: "'It is bad that I do not know anything about this. It is not bad, however, when citizens and politicians think about ways of protecting the republic,' the president replied smiling. Of course, it is necessary to accurately define what constitutes the republic's interests, he added. After all, the republic must protect the interests of its citizens. Though the president refrained from evaluating specific proposals, he said that he would consider such a law positive, provided that it would be conceived in harmony with democratic principles."

The president is also said to have been asked whether he considered the bill on the National Security Council, approved at a recent meeting of the Slovak Government, "in harmony with democratic principles." According to Hric, "the president immediately found a nonconfrontational reply to this question. He said that, personally, he originally had different ideas concerning this bill but that he had trust in the parliament's ability to assess which bills promote democracy and which ones could have the opposite effect."

Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 10 June on page 2 carries a 600-word Bedrich Zagar report on the president's news conference entitled "Citizens Should Also Bear a Share of Responsibility." According to the report, the president also commented on the problem of ethnic minorities: "The discussions and roundtables being held with representatives of the ethnic minorities testify to the high standard of our policy, in which scope dialogue is provided for on such sensitive issues, he said. We have 10 different ethnic minorities, of which Hungarian is the largest. However, even within this minority, there exist differences between its Romany and Hungarian parts. We have decided, the president said, to analyze the demands of the ethnic minorities and deal with them. If we fail to come to an agreement, if we do not unify our stands on how to solve this problem, then we will have to ask for the opinion of international experts and accept international norms on those issues."

Ministry Defends Refugee Policy to UNHCR

LD1106212793 Prague CTK in English 2021 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Bratislava June 11 (CTK)—The Slovak Ministry of the Interior today disagreed with a statement made by a United Nations official that the country was adopting a wait-and-see refugee policy.

Yesterday Walter Hoffman, a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) official, had told REUTERS that Slovakia was not doing much at present to prepare for a flood of refugees likely to be sent back to the country after Germany's new asylum laws take effect on July 1.

Hoffman said the biggest problem was the lack of a readmission agreement between Slovakia and Hungary, this being the country through which most refugees came from the former Yugoslavia. Unless such an agreement was signed, he warned, Slovakia's whole refugee aid system could collapse.

Under the new asylum law refugees can be sent back to the nearest safe country from which they came. However, Czechs can then send refugees back to Slovakia, under a bilateral agreement between the two countries. Without a similar agreement with Hungary, though, Slovakia could find itself stuck with the refugees.

A Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman told CTK today that the republic did have an active refugee policy. Furthermore, readmission agreements with Hungary and Slovakia's other neighbours were being drawn up and would soon be ready for signing. He added that the agreements would not all be concluded at the same time, but would be linked by a certain logic.

British Lawyers To Represent Nation in Court

AU1106195793 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Jun 93 p 12

[Unattributed report: "An Expensive Undertaking; The Legal Dispute Over Gabcikovo Will Cost Us Sk1 Billion"]

[Excerpts] The fact that the dispute with Hungary over the future of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project has landed before the International Court of Justice in The Hague is well known. What is less known, however, is how much we are going to pay for this legal dispute, regardless of its outcome. The daily NOVY CAS No. 132, therefore, asked Julius Binder, director of the Vodohospodarska Vystavba company, the "patron" of the Gabcikovo project so to speak, how much it is going to cost us.

[Binder] Each side, the Hungarian and the Slovak, carries the court expenditures itself. [passage omitted] Slovakia will finance its part from the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The costs will not be negligible.... If we assume that the proceedings before the court will take five years, they will cost our taxpayers approximately 1 billion korunas [Sk]. [passage omitted]

[NOVY CAS] Who will represent us in The Hague?

[Binder] We have hired three English lawyers who are exceptionally experienced and knowledgeable, and lawyers are not cheap anywhere in the world.

[NOVY CAS] Could you, at least, say approximately how much they charge?

[Binder] Well, if you know the fees of our lawyers, their fees are perhaps 100 times higher. Everything is relative, however. In the West, just like in Slovakia, there are all kinds of lawyers and their fees vary. Anyway, the sums involved are different from those we are used to.

Slovene, Hungarian Presidents Discuss Crisis

LD1406174693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] The south Slav crisis was on the agenda at talks held in Budapest between Slovene President Milan Kucan and Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Vilmos V. Kovacs reports on the press briefing of the two heads of state.

[Kovacs] After the talks Milan Kucan stressed that Slovenia still would like to draw the attention of international public opinion to the Bosnian crisis. This is why Slovenia has elaborated a plan to resolve the crisis, but it will participate in a more resolute settlement of the crisis only if its ideas, in which the main emphasis is laid on the international monitoring of the Bosnian borders, are accepted by others.

Answering the question of Hungarian radio, as to what extent he considers Croatia, in addition to Serbia, responsible for the Bosnian bloodshed, he said the following:

[Begin Kucan recording in Slovene fading into Hungarian translation] In the case of Serbia and Croatia, the initial positions were different from each other. However, the initial differences have now disappeared. At the outbreak of the war the aggressor was known, and the United Nations should have reacted at that time. Now there is a civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, in his opinion, from this viewpoint there is no great difference between Belgrade and Zagreb. [end recording]

The Hungarian president twice referred to Russia's role in the settlement of the Balkan crisis, and then said:

[Begin Goncz recording] This war has losers, and there are already losers of it. The Bosnians, the Croatians, the Serbians; all the neighboring countries and, let me say all of Europe, are also all losers. [end recording]

Parliament To Hold Special Summer Session

LD1406160593 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—At the government's request, Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabad convened a special summer session of Parliament between June 16 and August 31, to cope with extra work. The first summer meeting is to take place on June 21.

With this announcement, Parliament started a plenary session on Monday afternoon.

Before the agenda, Sandor Toth (Christian Democratic People's Party) commemorated the centenary of the death of Ferenc Erkel, the father of Hungarian opera.

Also before the agenda, Imre Korosi (Independent) pressed for Hungarian businesses to get priority in food industry sell-offs.

Monday's agenda includes the first reading of the bill on higher education, and the second reading of the housing bill.

Finance Minister Presents Supplementary Budget

LD1506094393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Finance Minister Ivan Szabo has presented the Supplementary Budget Bill in Parliament. Our parliamentary correspondent, Andras Kerekes, reports.

[Kerekes] In reality, the supplementary budget does not contain new distributions, does not restructure the revenue and expenditure figures, but only presents a situation which has became apparent since the passing of the Budget Law in December, namely, that the deficit will be 30 billion forints higher than presented then. Ivan Szabo began by saying that this deficit must be made clear. Following this, he said that certain international obligations at the time did not make it possible to account for the expected deficit immediately. Now, in practice, the deficit has risen by an amount which was viewed hopefully at the time as expected revenue.

Meanwhile, during negotiations with the IMF, there was success in having accepted the compromise reached at the Interests Coordinating Council last autumn so this has now gained international legality, the finance minister added.

The general reserves of 13.5 billion [currency not specified] has been reduced, and about 6 billion [currency not specified] will be frozen.

The Government is not proposing amending the General Turnover Tax Law [AFA] on this occasion. But Ivan Szabo mentioned that the new AFA rate is not necessary because of the deficit; expenditures will be increased as a consequence of compensations for AFA.

The supplementary budget became necessary not only because of the duty laid down in the Budgetary Law but, in fact, because sources must be found to finance the deficit. This requires issuing new state bonds for which parliamentary authorization is required. On the other hand, this will be the only figure which can bear the parliament's seal of approval in time for the package to be discussed in Washington in the middle of July. In exchange, the Hungarian ecomomy could gain access to significant sums; the loans which were suspended a year and a half ago could be made available and there are hopes for new loans as well.

MDF Leader Sees 'No Alternative' to Coalition

AU1406150493 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 12 Jun (MTI)—"There is no alternative to the current coalition, and a government made up of other political forces would also not be able to govern better," the leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [HDF] parliamentary group, Imre Konya, said on Saturday [12 June].

Konya was speaking at a political forum held in Budapest, attended by several senior politicians of the HDF, the leading party of the government coalition, including Minister of the Interior Peter Boross and Minister of Finance Ivan Szabo.

As regards the expulsions from the HDF's parliamentary group, and the political power relations that have come about in the wake of this, Konya noted: "There are some who left the common boat, and this should be acknowledged, as two parties cannot exist within one party."

Konya considered this "purification" to be necessary in order for the HDF to successfully enter the next elections—which, in his view, will definitely be held only next year.

Minister of Finance Ivan Szabo also represented a similar view, and said those who disrupted the party's unity expelled themselves from the HDF.

In answer to questions about the Hungarian Way Movement, highlighted with Istvan Csurka's name, and the possibility of the movement becoming a party, the HDF politicians clearly indicated this has no effects on the HDF's popular, national commitment, as the party continues to consistently accept and represent that character.

Hungarian-Slovene Border Stations Blockaded

LD1506100993 Budapest MTI in English 0852 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Slovenian farmers, protesting against the low state purchase prices, have been blockading the access roads to the Hungarian-Slovenian border stations of Redics and Bajansenye for 24 hours.

Colonel Attila Krisan, spokesman of the Hungarian Border Guard, said that by Tuesday morning 170 trucks heading for Slovenia queued up in front of Redics. He added that the border guard had no information about how long the blockade would last.

On Tuesday morning, the Slovenian authorities only disclosed that the farmers continued their talks with the Ljubljana government on increasing state purchase prices.

Soldiers To Be Trained in Russia

AU1406150693 Budapest MTI in English 1607 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 Jun (MTI)—More than 100 Hungarian soldiers are to travel to Russia for retraining, inasmuch as the Hungarian Government approves the Russian weapons deliveries, valued at USD 800 million, already coordinated on an expert level. These deliveries would imply the repayment of about half the debt owed by the former Soviet Union to Hungary.

MTI has learned from the Hungarian Army Command that, according to plans, 110 soldiers are to be sent to Russia, including 40 fighter pilots who would be familiarized with MiG-29 fighter jet interceptors as, in case the agreement is realized, the Hungarian Army will have some 25 such aircraft.

Suchocka Says Taxes Cannot Be Increased

AU1406172893 Warsaw PAP in English 2044 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Poznan, June 11—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said today that the economic transformations in Poland have gained a certain sovereignty in relation to the changing political situation, surviving many political disputes, election campaigns and change of governments.

She assured a Polish-German economic symposium in Poznan that the reforms will be continued also after the parliamentary elections called for September 19, and expressed the conviction that the victory will not fall to those forces which speak of retreat from the present course of reforms.

The prime minister emphasized that Polish society has boldly and patiently shouldered the burdens inseparably linked with radical reforms. "Although the Poles sometimes criticize the successive governments carrying out the reforms, they have endured greater sacrifices than the societies of many other democratic countries," she declared.

Hans Peter Still, president of the Federal Chamber of Trade and Industry (DIHT) of Germany, attending the meeting, stressed that Poland was becoming an attractive market for investors. He said that considerable possibilities for the development of economic cooperation between Poland and Germany consist in the collaboration of the private sector, and especially small and medium-sized enterprises.

German ambassador to Poland Franz Bertele on his part stressed that Germany has become one of the most important trade partners for Poland. "German investments are not developing so well," he observed, however, adding that one of the reasons for this situation was the insufficiently developed banking system in Poland.

Problems connected with economic reforms and the current socio-political situation were also the subject of Premier Hanna Suchocka's meeting on the same day with the workers and management of the "Cegielski" metal plant in Poznan.

During that meeting and a press conference which followed, the prime minister stressed that Poland was in no danger of an administrative paralysis in the period preceding the parliamentary elections and the appointment of a new cabinet.

"The government is working normally. It is not a caretaker government", Suchocka said. She also stressed that changes in the government were necessary as there were two vacating ministerial posts which had to be filled.

Addressing the "Cegielski" plant workers, directors and unionists, the prime minister stressed that taxes could not be increased any further in Poland as the Poles were already considerably burdened by the state budget. She simultaneously noted that there were small possibilities of increasing budget spending and pointed out that many government guarantees turned out to be subsidies paid off by the state budget.

"That is why both banks and ministries are at present more cautious as regards credit guarantees granted to firms," Premier Suchocka explained. She also stressed that a consistent state intervention could cover now only strategic enterprises.

Referring to the introduction of the value added tax and excise sealing of some products, the prime minister explained that the government saw them as a source of money needed for the public sector and pay increases for the public sector employees to be introduced this autumn.

The prime minister emphasized that the announced pay increases in the public sector had nothing to do with the date of the parliamentary elections. She recalled that the increases had been announced by the finance minister long before anybody could expect that elections would be held earlier.

Asked during the press conference whether she would run as a candidate to the Polish parliament in her home-town of Poznan, Hanna Suchocka replied that she could hardly imagine herself running as a candidate in another constituency. She also stressed that what she thought most important is the triumph of pro-reformatory trends in the forthcoming elections, guaranteeing that "the four years of difficult sacrifice on the part of all Polish citizens are not wasted."

Walesa Describes Non-Party Bloc Idea

LD1506120193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] In an interview for PAP Polish President Lech Walesa has announced that he is going to address the nation to explain goals and tasks of a Non-Party Bloc for Supporting the Reforms.

[Begin Walesa recording] When at last politicians and many normal people are going to believe that I have become president in order to search for best solutions for the country in the present situation. Now, again, I am presenting a practical and very logical idea, which takes into account the fact that we want parties to have party pluralism. But we are living here and now. The parties are too weak, so they should have the lobbies I propose. Each party should have agriculture, hired labor, employers, and capitalists to put it briefly on its agenda. Every party should note that Poland has to reorganize its administrative model. I dissolved parliament to achieve that. I would like people organized in the lobbies to enter a new parliament. If they enter parliament from that list and on this program they will have to solve these issues as the nation will know what they are doing and they cannot just try to reach agreement with each other. [end recording]

Walesa Letter to Conference on Human Rights

LD1406204993 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—President Lech Walesa Monday addressed a letter to participants in the U.N. World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, the presidential press bureau has announced.

The president thanked for the invitation to take part in the conference extended to him as the Nobel Peace Prize winner and apologized for not being able to be present. He wrote that the idea of the conference is very close to him as the years of fight with totalitarianism taught him respect for values which are basic in the life of each man and every nation.

Lech Walesa reminded the global conference that the Solidarity Trade Union achieved victory without bloodshed and peacefully initiated big transformations in Europe. He also stressed that some politicians more firmly believe in the power of weapons than in peaceful negotiations. The tragedy of Yugoslavia illustrates the results of such a tragic thinking.

The president emphasized that human rights cannot be an empty slogan only as the exercising of these rights is a basis of democracy.

He also wrote about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, prepared in Poland on his initiative, which assumes that respect for independence and dignity of every human being has a primary value.

Parties Face Elections With Shortage of Funds

LD1106201593 Warsaw PAP in English 1820 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—The major political parties who will be contesting the September parliamentary elections will only be able to finance their campaigns with the support of their sympathisers. Most parties are desperately short of funds, and some are still in debt following the October 1991 elections.

Under Poland's new electoral law, parties must finance their electoral campaigns from their own funds, or through donations from their supporters. They will not, however, be eligible for support from the state budget.

Among the leading political groupings, it has been clear for some time that the Centre Alliance (PC) faces serious financial problems. At the end of 1992, its telephones were disconnected for non-payment of rent for its previous premises, and PC has since moved to another, less prestigious location. According to PC President Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the party will seek to raise money from its candidates, but anticipates that finances will be tight. However, "there are people who are prepared to offer office space free of charge, transport, and so on. We are counting on that sort of support."

Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) noted that the party had begun financial planning for the elections over a year ago. Furthermore, KPN is able to finance its campaigns very prudently. "From this, it is clear that not only are we able to conduct a financially-prudent campaign, but also we can run the state finances more prudently."

Several parties, including the leftist Union of Labour (UP) and the Christian National Union (ZChN) are counting on support from candidates in the elections, or from street collections and other donations.

The Democratic Union (UD), one of the leading parties in the ruling coalition, said that, since the party's electorate was hard-up, the party might have to seek sponsors from sympathisers in business circles. However, the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) a current coalition partner of UD, will seek funds from public collections. "It will certainly not be possible to buy a place on the KLD electoral list, and our financial report after the elections will certainly be reliable," said KLD campaign director Jacek Merkel.

The post-communist parties will seek to finance their campaigns solely from resources of their supporters. Leszek Miller, deputy leader of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), said that he hoped wealthy people with leftist sympathies would support the SLD campaign. Likewise the Polish Peasant's Party will refuse to seek foreign support. "We are counting above all on our party members, and we also assume that our supporters in the countryside will support us, as they did in the previous elections," said PSL press spokesman Michal Strak.

But the most serious problems are faced by those parties unlikely to meet the 5 percent voting threshold for representation in parliament. Stanislaw Michalkiewicz of the Real Politics Union (UPR) noted that the party cannot count on powerful sponsors, and that the UPR campaign was likely to be very modest.

UPR Not To Join Alliance for Elections

LD1206174793 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Krakow, June 12—The Real Politics Union (UPR) will not join any alliance in the electoral campaign, although it had had plans to do so, according to UPR spokesman Rafal Ziemkiewicz.

Speaking in Krakow on Saturday, Ziemkiewicz said that "the UPR will go to the elections alone because there are no allies on the main issues for this party, for instance: the market economy in Poland, changes in the economic system, breaking up bureucracy, and changes in the system of government."

Ziemkiewicz thought that there are parties which share the UPRs values but unfortunately in their economic ideas they were stuck in socialism and threatened people with the spectre of social justice, which was unacceptable to the UPR.

The UPR had 4 deputies before parliament was dissolved.

Socialists Reject Coalition With SLD

LD1306171993 Warsaw PAP in English 1713 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—The main board of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) on Sunday resolved not to enter into electoral arrangement with the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). Petr Ikonowicz resigned as party's chairman.

Ikonowicz motivated his decision by "personal reasons." However unofficial sources say he was for reaching an agreement with the SLD in return for three openings on district electoral lists guaranteeing parliamentary seats to the PPS. The move was strongly opposed by PPS' emigre activists—members of the Council who rejected any form of cooperation with the post-communists.

Ikonowicz decision was followed by the resignation of the PPS Central Executive Committee. A new party leader can be elected only during the party congress.

Jan Olszewski Elected RDR Chairman

LD1106210393 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Jan Olszewski Friday was elected the chairman of the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) by the party's 100-strong main political council.

The council, composed of delegates elected by the recent founding congress, elected Antoni Macierewicz the deputy to Olszewski and appointed Romuald Szeremietiew the party's chief of electoral staff.

The first meeting of the council held after the congress which admitted Macierewicz's Christian-National Movement Akcja Polska (Polish Action) to RDR was chiefly devoted to electoral strategy and the possible scope of centre-rightist coalition.

Conservative Party Chairman Hall Interviewed

PM1106142893 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3 Jun 93 p 5

[Interview with Aleksander Hall, Polish Conservative Party chairman, by correspondent Lena Kaletowa; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kaletowa] What traditions had the conservative orientation developed in Poland? I am thinking in terms of political concepts rather than traditional conservative attitudes.

[Hall] We are a new generation conservative party. Of course tradition is very important. For example, we draw on the ideas of the Krakow Stanczyk group and the Krakow school of historical thought, but also on British, French, and American conservative philosophy.

[Kaletowa] How many adherents do you have?

[Hall] The party has a membership of more than 2,500. We have several branch clubs outside Warsaw. This is by no means insignificant for a party which is barely six months old.

[Kaletowa] What is Aleksander Hall's "New Right" like, then?

[Hall] The New Right orientation is geared to respecting the values which lie at the foundations of both European and our own Polish culture. Moreover, its program includes a major transformation of Poland: a mammoth effort to restructure our national mentality. We carry in our genes a vast potential of individualism. This is very necessary for the implementation of the market economy principles, but the way Polish people relate to state institutions these days resembles the bad old times of parliamentary libertarian trends. It was precisely the Krakow Stanczyk group which judged that episode in our history most severely, arguing that the Polish Republic fell largely through our own fault: because of a faulty sociopolitical system. If Poland is to assume its rightful place in today's Europe, we must change a great deal within ourselves.

[Kaletowa] Are you different from other right-oriented groups?

[Hall] Let us not forget that Poland is not the property of just one single political camp. If we aim for stability of state institutions, we must listen to different reasons and arguments. This is why I regard the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] as a political opponent, but at the same time as a rightful participant in the democratic configuration of forces.

[Kaletowa] You are referring to your party as a "party of stability and order." But it was your group which signed the most restrictive drafts of the antiabortion bill, the anticommunist vetting bill, and the reprivatization bill. These laws could be powerful factors diverting attention from our real problems, if not actually destabilizing the situation in the country.

[Hall] I was personally in favor of the version of the antiabortion bill which was finally approved by the Sejm. We do not support the decommunization act, but we realize that we cannot avoid the problem of anticommunist vetting. Every future election campaign will be run under slogans calling for exposure of agents and secret documents of uncertain provenance, and so on. In my opinion this should be done in the most civilized manner possible. People should not have to prove their innocence. It is the accusers who should be expected to prove the charges... As for reprivatization, I believe that if even Bulgaria, which has by far a more socialist system, could afford it, then Poland will have to come to grips with it, too.

[Kaletowa] But will it be paid for by citizens who are tax-paying wage earners?

[Hall] We do not propose that all the wrongs done by the Polish People's Republic be redressed, but we are interested in a certain form of compromise between valid ownership rights and the extent of the state's possibilities.

[Kaletowa] You maintain that there is still too much socialism in Poland. What is it that worries you most about it?

[Hall] We have a weak state, a weak political system, and a significant proportion of politicians who are not equal to the task of tackling the challenges which Poland faces these days. This state of affairs occurs in a weary society which is inclined to pin its hopes on people who inspire promises of an egalitarian system.

[Kaletowa] We are currently undergoing a kind of renaissance of Solidarity ideals, but you have stated publicly that Solidarity is nearing the end of its days....

[Hall] Solidarity places itself in a position of supremacy above all constitutional institutions of power within the state, such as the government, parliament, and the president. This is demonstrated in the way in which it forces changes in economic policy and the budget and attempts to assume the leading role in the state without assuming the responsibility that should go with it. Moreover, it has no concept of where we should go from here.

[Kaletowa] You make no secret of your poor opinion of the political class which took upon its shoulders the burden of the transformations in the country after 1989. What mistakes do you believe they made?

[Hall] In my opinion, their worst mistake was the sin of arrogance: By 1990 the majority of us believed that the only configuration left on the battlefield was the Solidarity-derived camp. However, it turned out that there were other forces there, both associated through their pedigree with the Polish People's Republic: the Polish Peasants Party [PSL] and the communists. We should also remember that public moods are changeable and that people want immediate results and are not at all inclined to shut their eyes to evident misuse of power for private ends or to the lack of political vision, both of which are, unfortunately, in plentiful evidence in our political life.

[Kaletowa] Your program comes close to the church's social teaching. Nevertheless, the church does not appear to support your party in the same way that it supports the Christian National Union [ZChN]. Why is that?

[Hall] We are not interested in soliciting support from the church hierarchy. In any case, whenever we mention hierarchy, we really mean a number of bishops representing a varied range of views, sympathies, and visions of the church's share in public life. We do not express our opinions with a view to eliciting favorable commentaries from the church pulpits. We are most profoundly convinced that a harmonious arrangement of state-church relations is in Poland's best interests. After all, the church plays a vastly important role in our society. However, while stressing this, I do not want to imply that I fail to notice the errors made by the clergy, and even by bishops.

[Kaletowa] How do you envisage a harmonious arrangement of relations. The worst problems usually lie in the details.

[Hall] I envisage a relationship of autonomy presupposing mutual respect for each other's independence, accompanied by a willingness to cooperate. This formula is lifted directly from papal documents. In practice, it means that the legislation in the country should be developed by a group of society's representatives, that is, parliament. In contrast to the ZChN, we embrace and approve the fact that our society is pluralistic. An expression of that pluralism must be reflected in our legislation. Our legislation must not be a simple translation of religious truths into the language of the law. I do not agree with such methods of forcing one set of arguments on other people. I believe that the values inherent in the faith should be realized in practice in our life, not imposed on others forcibly. The church has both a right and a duty—following from its mission—to speak out on public matters. It could even suggest lists of names of candidates for whom it believes people should vote (I do not think that such a practice is in breach of the law—it is merely a mistake). If one particular political group is singled out for deserving particular confidence and trust, this introduces divisions in the community of believers. Just as our Polish public needs a lot of time to learn to live in the new circumstances, so the church needs time to define its place in a democratic state.

[Kaletowa] Your party program is addressed to those who "by their own work intend to improve the existence of their families." These days in Poland people who act outside the law are most likely to improve their own and their families' existence: Their fortunes continue to grow. Those who actually want to work cannot find jobs. Where do you draw your electorate from?

[Hall] You cannot judge all businessmen with one yardstick. The new business class is tremendously varied. I met a delegation of young businessmen here in Wroclaw recently. They all owe their fortunes to their own efforts, their inventiveness, and their honest application. As a party, we do not aspire to reach all independent entrepreneurs, only those who profess such elementary values as honesty, integrity, and so on. We stake our money on those young people—including young intellectuals—who have not been tainted by socialist ways of thinking. In time, there will be increasing numbers of those who adopt our program for their own.

Mass Privatization Law Comes Into Force

LD1406152293 Warsaw PAP in English 1448 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—Privatisation Minister Janusz Lewandowski signed an official invitation to 440 state enterprises on Monday as the governments mass privatisation programme came into force.

The new law allows each firm 45 days to provide arguments for staying outside the programme. It will be known how many enterprises are involved in the programme by the beginning of August.

Under the scheme workforces are to receive 15 per cent of the shares if their enterprise converts to a treasury owned company (the first stage of privatisation). These enterprises will also obtain tax relief.

Earlier, some 180 firms which are already treasury owned companies have agreed to join the mass privatisation programme.

The Privatisation Ministry expects that around 600 enterprises will be included in the two levels of the privatisation programme which are to operate simultaneously. The first, involving about 200 firms is the so-called "recompensation" programme which is aimed at workers in the state sector, pensioners and people on benefit. The second, involving 400 firms, will cover all adult Polish citizens.

Foreign Espionage Reportedly Increasing

LD1106200493 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Text] According to Polish special services, the interruption in legislative work on acts on state secrets and data protection is significantly hampering and at times rendering it impossible to fight against industrial espionage. Meanwhile, since the beginning of the year, the military intelligence services alone have uncovered at least eight cases of espionage in the arms industry.

[Reporter Boguslaw Chrabota—identified by screen caption] According to the special services, Poland today is no less attractive to foreign economic intelligence operations than a few years ago. The privatization and modernization of industry have created a situation in which appraising the value of a company, determining its products, and testing the Polish partner's credibility have become the objective of foreign intelligence services.

[Unidentified speaker] Recently, military intelligence services have noted a number of intensified operations by foreign special services.

[Chrabota] The State Protection Office [UOP] speaks of hundreds of established instances of information leaks. Military counterintelligence reports that intelligence operations in Poland are being conducted by foreign, mainly German, companies. State services do so less frequently. Since the beginning of the year, at least eight cases of espionage in the arms industry have been uncovered. There are no Poles among those arrested.

For foreign intelligence services, the most interesting espionage targets in Poland include the state finances, including the state of Polish banks, key branches of industry, especially the arms industry, transport, including road development plans, information about government contracts, leading personnel, and the credibility of Polish companies.

Deficiencies in the law and a shortage of money creates conditions in which often the spy is faced only by a factory guard.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, the lion's share of espionage activity in the world concerns industry and technology. The victims of economic intelligence-gathering are most often highly developed countries, mainly the United States, where espionage trials are held not only against agents of the former Soviet Union but more and more frequently, especially in recent times, against French and Israeli intelligence employees.

Specialists maintain that the activities of intelligence services of the former USSR has recently declined. Economies going through difficulties cannot consume technical innovations stolen from abroad. [Video shows buildings and fences marked "No photography"; unidentified man speaking to camera; various shots of the Rawar electronic works; shots of the State Optics Center; "CIA Operational Headquarters"; poor quality footage of people at work, subtitled "FBI Material."]

Thousands Attend University Square Rally

AU1406193193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1993—On Monday afternoon [14 Jun], after 1630 local time, traffic was interrupted in the University Square by a march having started in the Revolution Square. Organized by the Civic Alliance, it was meant to mark three years since the events on June 13-15, 1990.

The leader of the Democratic Convention of Romania, Emil Constantinescu, headed the march held to the accompaniment of a funeral march. Although the megaphones mounted on a car were voicing appeals for "an atmosphere of commemoration," anti-presidential and pro-monarchy slogans were chanted. The attendance repeated several times "Constantinescu," the name of the Democratic Convention leader.

Priest Mehedintiu of the Coltea Church held a religious service and the people gathered in the square said "Our Father" prayer together with the priest.

According to estimations of the organizers, between seven and ten thousand people attended the rally. The police estimated the number at about 6-7 thousand. The rally was previously authorized by relevant bodies.

Emil Constantinescu, chairman of the Democratic Convention, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party, [PNTCD]; Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, senator, president of the Former Political Prisoners' Association; Ion Ratiu, senator for the PNTCD; Priest Mehedintiu, representatives of the "University Solidarity" spoke at a rally held Monday, June 14, to mark three years since the marathon rally organized in the University Square in 1990, to evoke the memory of the dead of the 1989 revolution and the 1990 rally.

A proposal was made that a statue to Romanian liberty be raised in the University Square. The speakers took the floor in the proximity of the commemorative plaque on the university building wall, saying "Students and professors have fought for freedom here, for civic rights in December 1989 and April-June 1990. 14 June, University Solidarity."

Melodies sung for the first time in the University Square in 1990 were sung once again at the close of the rally.

Iliescu, EC's Brittan Discuss Economic Reform

AU1406203293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1843 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1993—We had very interesting talks on the progress made by Romania on the road of the reform, said Leon Brittan, vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities, in charge of foreign economic relations, after he met Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

The head of the Romanian state spoke to his guest about the present problems of Romania in the international context. Sir Leon Brittan made a remark on the optimism of President Iliescu, on which he agrees, he added. The guest said he was aware of the fact that Romania had to be helped for the reform of its economy to be successful. The vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities underlined that it was important that the IMF line of credit to Romania be deblocked, to boost restructuring and privatisation.

Vacaroiu, Brittan Assess Talks

AU1406203193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1993—I appreciate the astounding change Romania has undergone despite the difficulties springing from the transition to a market economy, said Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the Commission of European Communities, after his Monday, June 14, interview with Premier Vacaroiu.

Prime Minister Vacaroiu presented the policy of his cabinet in promoting the reform, its objectives for 1993, the VAT [value-added tax] introduction and the restructuring of economic units ranging among the first.

Sir Leon Brittan expressed the interest the Economic Communities have in backing Romania to complete the economic changes it has embarked on and stressed the great importance of the agreement on Romania's association to the European Communities. He recommended that privatisation be speeded up, an essential condition to reduce the transition's bad effects.

Sir Leon Brittan met Monday, June 14, at Victory Palace, with Misu Negritoiu, minister of state, president of the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform, on which occasion the guest repeatedly said that privatisation had to be speeded up in Romania, so that monopolies be no longer a rule. Leon Brittan asked many questions on the restructuring of public corporations and mentioned that several commercial companies could be created out of one public corporation which groups together several activities.

The two examined the legal and industrial framework for the gradual elimination of monopolies from the Romanian economy.

Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu and Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities, made statements to the press accredited to the government headquarters, Monday, June 14, after their interview.

The guest said that the talks he had had with the head of the Romanian Government had pointed to the way in which the European Communities could help Romania in its process of reform. He promised to encourage and speed up procedures for Romania to be granted assistance. Sir Leon Brittan mentioned that he was favoring the speeding up of the access of Romanian products and services to the EC market.

Romania's premier mentioned that "Sir Leon Brittan came to Romania to have direct contacts with the issues we are confronting with during the reform and the transition to a market economy. We had talks on our achievements so far, on what we are going to do to speed up industrial restructuring and privatisation." Premier Vacaroiu mentioned that he thanked the vice-president of the Commission of Economic Communities for his support in stepping up the signing of the agreement on Romania's association to the Economic Communities and the enforcement of the interim agreement.

Railway Board Calls on Drivers To End Strike

AU1406193493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1708 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/6/1993—58 percent of the trains on schedule were steaming ahead, June 14 at midday, informed Teodor Groza, secretary of state in the Ministry of Transport, head of the Department of Railway Transport.

The strike of engine drivers' unions declared illegal in court, affected therefore 42 percent of the railway traffic, more than Monday morning. According to Mr. Groza many engine drivers willing to work were threatened and thus forced not to.

After having analyzed the consequences of the present illegal strike of railwaymen on the Railway Public Corporation and the national economy, and having humanitarian issues in view, the Board of Administration of the Railway Public Corporation [SNCFR], have called the organizers of the strike to stop it and resume activity, to send their representatives to the SNCFR headquarters to have talks for tension to be defused.

According to the information released by ROMPRES correspondents, the railwaymen's strike has particularly affected the Constanta, Galati, Iasi and Timisoara branches, while the Craiova has worked almost normally.

Country Elected as ILO Governing Body Member

AU1206190093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1509 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/6/1993—The news that Romania was elected member to the governing body of the International Labor Organization (ILO) was brought Saturday, 12 June, by Labor and Welfare Minister Dan Mircea Popescu upon his return to Bucharest from the ILO's 80th session in Geneva.

The Romanian labor minister remarked that for a long time Romania had not been on the ILO governing body and that this position would enable "Romania make its voice better heard in this UN specialized forum."

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 15 June

WA1506150493

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian Serbs, Croats agree on population transfer ... Krajina Serbs draw up question for unification referendum ... Serbian opposition leader Draskovic's lawyers say Serbian Radical Party member killed policeman during 1 June melee in front of parliament building ... Serbian attack on Gorazde reportedly continues ... Serbs deny blockading Sarajevo Airport ... Croats, Muslims exchange ethnic-cleansing charges.

POLITICAL

SERBS, CROATS AGREE ON POW TRANSFERS (AFP): Bosnian Serb and Croat leaders agree on population transfers and exchanges of residences between Serbs in Croatian-held areas and Croats in Serbian-held regions. Two sides to create commission for "exchange of homes and property" to accompany "civilian exchanges." (AU1506095793)

KRAJINA SERBS PLAN REFERENDUM (TANJUG): Krajina Serbs draw up question for 19-20 June unification referendum, asking if voters are in favor of "unification into a unitary state" with Bosnian Serbs and "other Serbian states that wish to do so." "Final results" to be made public on 23 June. (LD1506110593)

RADICAL PARTY MEMBER REPORTEDLY KILLED POLICEMAN (Belgrade Radio): Lawyers for Serbian opposition leader Draskovic and his wife suggest that suspect in killing of policeman during 1 June melee in front of parliament building was not a member of Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement but of Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party. Serbian Government has accused Draskovic of being responsible for the killing. (AU1406150093)

MUSLIMS REJECT SERBS FOR COORDINATING BODY (Sarajevo Radio): Muslims reject proposal by international mediator Owen to include Bosnian Serb leaders Karadzic, Krajisnik, and Koljevic on coordinating body for implementing Vance-Owen plan. (LD1406211393)

MILITARY

ATTACK ON GORAZDE CONTINUES: Sarajevo Radio reports Serbian attack on Gorazde continues, says that Serbs stop shelling when NATO aircraft fly over but resume attack when planes disappear. (AU1406191693)

SERBS DENY BLOCKING AIRPORT (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb General Milovanovic calls reports that Serbs have set up a checkpoint on sole access road to Sarajevo Airport a "pure fabrication." UNPROFOR had earlier protested that Serbian forces were blocking access to the airport. (LD1406190293)

MUSLIMS, CROATS TRADE ACCUSATIONS (Zagreb Radio, Sarajevo Radio): Sarajevo Radio says Croats "continuing ethnic cleansing and murder of innocent civilians" in central Bosnia, while Zagreb Radio accuses Muslims of "large-scale crimes" against Croats in region. Zagreb Radio complains world media ignoring Muslim "ethnic cleansing" while concentrating on "completely marginal events" like the Croatian attack on a Muslim aid convoy. (AU1406200693, LD1406183493)

Three Warring Sides' Meeting Postponed

AU1506095693 Paris AFP in English 0806 GMT 15 Jun 93

[By Michael Adler]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, June 15 (AFP)—Bosnia's three warring factions were to meet at Sarajevo airport Tuesday as fighting raged at key spots throughout the former Yugoslav republic, especially the eastern enclave of Gorazde.

Bosnian Serb top general Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Croat HVO army chief Milivoj Petkovic and the head of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army Rasim Delic were due to take part in the U.N.-chaired talks seen as crucial towards stemming escalating fighting and deteriorating living conditions.

But there was already a delay in the original 11:00 a.m. (0900 GMT) starting time since Petkovic, who was arriving from Kiseljak, 30 kilometres (18 miles) west of Sarajevo, was not expected to reach the airport before noon, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) sector commander for Sarajevo Colonel Marcel Valentin told AFP. He confirmed that Generals Mladic and Delic were still expected, adding that the meeting was still on. The meeting was to be presided by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) chief for the former Yugoslavia, Swedish General Lars-Eric Wahlgren.

Both Wahlgren and the U.N. commander for Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, have backed away from an ultimatum on withdrawing U.N. troops that Morillon delivered Saturday. [passage omitted]

Morillon told AFP Monday: "I would not say that it is a last-chance meeting but I feel it is an extraordinarily important meeting." [passage omitted]

Sarajevo was relatively quiet Tuesday morning after shelling over the past three days. Sarajevo radio said the Bosnian army has seized positions in territory between Vogosca and Rajlovac in hills overlooking Sarajevo. Meanwhile, Moslem-Croat fighting was moving east Monday, reaching the road from Sarajevo to Kiseljak, 30 kilometres (18 miles) west of Sarajevo. Moslem forces seized Travnik, 100 kilometres (62 miles) northwest of Sarajevo, last week.

Frewer said there were thousands of Croatian refugees moving around in the area of Vares, 35 kilometres (21 miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

Serbs, Croats Reach Accord on 'Population Transfers'

AU1506095793 Paris AFP in English 2331 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Celebici, Bosnia-Hercegovina, June 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb and Croat leaders, acting for the first time without international mediators, reached an agremment here late Monday on population transfers and exchanges of residences.

While teams of European Community observers were present here in southwestern Bosnia, they did not take part in the meeting of the two delegations.

"The result of the meeting is very important," said Branko Dokic, education minister in the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb republic. "We no longer need the presence or the mediation of E.C. observers."

Jozo Maric, representing the Croat community, expressed the hope that the accord would "open a new chapter in Croat-Serb relations".

As an expression of "good will", acccording to Maric, Bosnian Croat officials on Monday unilaterally handed over to Bosnian Serb authorities 41 Serb civilians from around Livno and Stolatz who had been prevented from leaving since April 1992.

They were transferred by bus from Croat-controlled Hercegovina to areas of Bosnia under Serb jurisdiction.

"I am leaving with a heavy heart and I don't think I'll ever go back there," acknowledged Dusan, who was leaving with his wife Maria.

The couple said they had been able to exchange apartments with a Croat family living in Banja Luka, a Serb stronghold in northeastern Bosnia.

Maric, who heads a Croat committee on prisoner exchanges, told AFP that Monday's accord covered "concrete measures" for the creation of "a new commission for the exchange of homes and property" that would accompany "civlian exchanges."

He denied that the agreement constituted a program of reciprocal ethnic cleansing.

"In time of war, people in conflict can be divided and want to be moved in security to their mother country," he explained.

Added Dokic, representing Bosnian Serbs: "Before, people fled their homes with just a sack. We don't want that to continue. New states have been created in the war and it is normal that each community wants to live together."

Another Serb official, Jovo Rakic, the Bosnian Serb republic's justice minister, stressed that the third party in the Bosnian conflict, the Moslems, would be consulted on the new accord.

Serb authorities have also announced an agreement with Croat officials for the exchange of 1,000 Serb civilians from Livno and Duvno against 900 Croats who are believed to be members of the Bosnian Croat HVO militia.

The Croats have been interned in a Serb camp in Manjaca, where they fled from Moslem forces attacking their positions around Travnik in central Bosnia last week.

Serb Leader Krajisnik on Coordinating Body

LD1406181893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 June (TANJUG)—The coordinating body, founded with our consent, which we gave at Lord Owen's insistence, will not be an organ of power, but a body that will coordinate further negotiations between the three national communities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb republic, told SRNA.

Krajisnik stressed that the decision to form the coordinating body cannot strictly be interpreted as a part of the Vance-Owen plan, since the Serb side has not accepted the plan.

"We have accepted the peace process and have given our consent for a body to be formed which would coordinate activities to do with establishing peace and defining borders between the three national communities," Krajisnik said, adding that the Serb republic is willing to talk "in general terms on the problems concerning the three national communities, but definitely not about the Vance-Owen plan or the coordinating body which would eventually replace the presidency and the government."

Commenting on the stance of the Croatian side in agreeing to take part in the work of the coordinating body on condition that Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic, vice president Nikola Koljevic, and assembly speaker Momcilo Krajisnik are its members, Krajisnik said that this is just the tactic of the Croatian side, "which is not willing to continue the realization of the Vance-Owen plan."

"This is just a maneuver by the Croat side which would also give its consent to the formation of a coordinating body whose task would be to establish contacts between the three national communities in order to continue the peace process," the president of the Serb republic assembly said. "There is not much difference between the interests of the Croats and Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina because they both want to separate from the Muslims."

Commenting on the forthcoming talks between the presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, and Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, Krajisnik said that "all talks are welcome at a time when the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina has escalated" because "it is necessary to establish contacts in order to revive the peace process."

Asked why representatives of the Serb republic and Herceg-Bosna have not been invited to the meeting, Krajisnik said: "I believe that this was Izetbegovic's maneuver by which he wanted to promote his state and be presented as a representative of a state, and not of a Muslim national community. We reacted to this and indicated that we do not accept anyone to negotiate on our behalf."

Proposed Serb Members Rejected

LD1406211393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Heregovina, abroad and with all its members present for the first time [in Geneva], this morning discussed the deteriorating military, economic, and humanitarian situation in our country. The Presidency rejected Lord David Owen's proposal that criminals Radovan Karadzic, Momcilo Krajisnik, and Nikola Koljevic be members of the coordination body for implementing the Vance-Owen plan as representatives of the Serbian people.

Serbian Attacks on Gorazde Intensifying

AU1506113993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 15 June carries the following reports from the crisis areas in the Republic:

The correspondent from Gorazde, Mirsad Kurtovic, says that "the chetniks are intensifying their activities from all directions." Quoting Bosnia-Herzegovina Army sources, Kurtovic says that the "enemy is concentrating major forces in (?Ravno)," while "fierce battles are fought on all lines of the front." He continues "horrendous shelling of all villages" has been going on throughout the night and this morning. Three people were killed and nine wounded in this morning's shelling, Kurtovic reports and then describes a shortage of medicine and blood in the town. According to him, even "basic medication" is lacking while "gravely injured people" in the town's overcrowded hospital are packed along the corridors. A "true hell and unprecedented tragedy of innocent people," Kurtovic concludes, urging humanitarian organizations to bring medication and food to town.

A report by the Zavidovici Press Center reports that a new artillery attack on the town took place at 0930 [0730 GMT] this morning. The town is being shelled by 82-mm mortars from Rujnice, the report says. The report also accounts for "a fresh concentration of the aggressor's heavy armored combat vehicles," which suggests that further shelling of "the free Zavidovici territory" is in store.

A report by the Seven-South Operative Group reports that there were "intense attacks on the Tesanj and Maglaj battlefields" yesterday. It is reported that Tesanj and Maglaj were pounded by 155-howitzers from Todorovici and Teslic. Although the fighting raged until late last night, as the report says, "the lines of defense remained stable and unchanged." The report says further that, yesterday, the lines of Doboj's defense were attacked by tanks, howitzers, and mortars.

An announcer-read report claims that "seven enemy helicopters were observed to be flying on the Bosanski Samac-Pelagicevo route between 2230 and 2400 last night."

Correspondent from Brcko Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the chetniks fiercely attacked Bajici with mortars at 0600 this morning."

An unidentified correspondent from Gornji Vakuf reports "no major combat activities in the area." "The night was peaceful and so is the morning in Gornji Vakuf," he says.

Attacks Occur After NATO Planes Leave

AU1406191693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Enes Musovic report from Gorazde]

[Text] The chetniks continue to carry out their criminal mission in eastern Bosnia. The number of killed during the last 24 hours has risen to 69, and there are dozens of wounded. The Gorazde hospital and the improvised field station are overflowing, and fresh wounded are still arriving—women, children, and old folk. There is no room, there is no medicine, and no oxygen, which is absolutely necessary for surgery. There are many seriously wounded waiting for UNPROFOR helicopters to evacuate them to a proper medical center, as they need complicated surgical work.

Fierce battles are raging on the defense lines. It has almost come to hand-to-hand fighting. It is particularly dramatic on (?Debesko Brdo), (?Gradina), Orahovice, and [word indistinct]. Four members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have been killed and 17 wounded in the fighting. The defenders are resisting an enemy that is far superior in arms.

The chetniks are again closely monitoring the flights of NATO aircraft. When they hear the sound of their powerful engines, they stop their heavy shelling of the town and civilians. However, when the sound of the engines disappears into the distance, all hell breaks loose again. They are using the heaviest shells against unarmed people. The chetniks are waging war against children. A rocket from a multiple rocket launcher killed three children today. Like the hundreds of children killed during the 13-month-old aggression against Gorazde, these three are also the (?children) of UNPROFOR, which allows the chetniks to arrest their childhood, to deny them the right to play games, and to kill them and get away with it—all this in a safe haven that is supposed to be under U.N. protection.

This is Enes Musovic reporting from Gorazde for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

'Pound Them Into Insanity'

AU1406145593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Fahrudin Bekic report from Gorazde]

[Text] Unprecedented crimes are taking place in the villages around Gorazde. The latest one occurred in the village of (?Grahova Rama). [word indistinct] 155-mm howitzers shells [words indistinct] were left in the ruins, while four with serious wounds were dragged out. Their lives are in danger. The same can be said for all the Gorazde residents. Constant artillery fire still does not allow people to leave the shelters. Karadzic's and Mladic's artillery gunners are behaving in the spirit of the latter's command: Pound them into insanity! [raspameti] But everyone here has already been driven insane by the impossibility of helping the wounded. Only urgent evacuation can help some of them. As for those most seriously injured, even that would be too late.

There is hardly anything left in the Gorazde hospital to provide even the most urgent of medical aid, and more wounded keep arriving. There are some soldiers among them, but they are mostly civilians, and, unfortunately, many are children. The chetniks, of course, pay no heed to that and their attacks are intensifying by the hour. There is hand-to-hand fighting on (?Nevesko Brdo) [words indistinct]. (?Osanica), Ilovaca, Orahovice, and all of Gorazde are being pounded by tanks, howitzers, 120-mm mortars, Pragas, and antiaircraft guns.

However, the people are defending themselves with great courage, convinced that no one can ever conquer and destroy a nation. This is Fahrudin Bekic reporting from Gorazde for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

69 Killed

AU1506092993 Paris AFP in English 2230 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 14 (AFP)—Moslem forces battled hand-to-hand with besieging Serb units in the eastern enclave of Gorazde Monday and attacked a key Croat town in central Bosnia ahead of a critical all-party military meeting here Tuesday.

Sarajevo was put on general alert in the face of heavy shelling, with authorities warning people to stay off the streets, Sarajevo Radio reported.

Bosnian Serb forces during the day threw up what they termed a "border post" on the road to Sarajevo airport, at one point blocking United Nations humanitarian aid deliveries that keep the city alive, until U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Sarajevo chief Marcel Valentin intervened. Colonel Valentin told AFP the checkpoint had been manned by border police to mark the frontier of a state Bosnian Serbs claim for themselves against the mainly Moslem government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But they agreed to let U.N. vehicles pass for the next two days, Valentin added.

The blockade came in the run-up to a UNPROFOR-sponsored meeting at Sarajevo airport Tuesday of military chiefs from the three warring Bosnian factions—Serbs, Moslems and Croats. The U.N. commander in Bosnia, General Philippe Morillon, has called the meeting a last chance for peace.

The U.N. commander for all of former Yugoslavia, General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, is to preside at the meeting, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer. Also expected to attend the mid-morning talks are Bosnian Serb military leader Ratko Mladic and his Moslem and Croat counterparts, Rasim Delic and Milivoj Petkovic.

In the mainly Moslem Gorazde enclave there was hand-to-hand fighting and heavy shelling early Monday after Bosnian Serb forces broke through Moslem lines overnight, Radio Sarajevo reported.

Bosnian Serb colonel Marko Kovac told the Belgrade daily NOVOSTI it was "only a matter of hours" before his troops entered the town, adding that Moslem soldiers were deserting as panic swept through the ranks.

Sarajevo Radio during the day Monday, citing amateur radio operators in the Gorazde region, said 69 civilians had been killed in the previous 24 hours and that dozens had been wounded. In a report that could not be independently confirmed, the radio put the death toll in the area at 2,000 over the past 20 days.

NATO planes flew over Gorazde during the fighting Monday, prompting Serb artillery units to interrupt their attacks, according to ham radio operators.

Gorazde, a zone 50 kilometers (30 miles) long, 25 kilometers (15 miles) wide and home to some 70,000 refugees and long-term residents, was declared a U.N. safe haven in May.

But it has since then come under a relentless Serb onslaught and Serb authorities have refused to allow U.N. military observers or even humanitarian aid into the region.

In central Bosnia, a renewed offensive by the mainly-Moslem Bosnian army has left at least 100 Croats dead and sparked a fresh exodus of Croat refugees, television reports said Monday.

Moslem forces trying to re-capture Novi Travnik on Monday killed five Bosnian Croat soldiers and shelled Croat villages near Kakanj, Vitez and Busovaca, forcing thousands of civilians to flee, Zagreb television reported.

A Bosnian Croat military communique said "all the Croat villages in the Kakanj region have been burnt down or pillaged by the Moslems, and about 100 Croats have been killed" in the recent fighting.

Croatian television said 18 people had been killed and 23 wounded when Moslem soldiers opened fire on a Croat refugee column fleeing towards Vares, 15 kilometers (10 miles) from Kakanj.

Some 15,000 civilians have taken refuge in Vares, which lies 50 kilometers (30 miles) north of Sarajevo, the television added.

"The Croats are losing" the Kakanj region, U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokeswoman Patricia Purves in Kiseljak, near Sarajevo, told Croatian television.

By late afternoon, accoring to Commander Frewer of UNPROFOR, speaking in Sarajevo, the fighting in Vitez and Kakanj appeared to have tapered off.

Izetbegovic Sends Protest Note

LD1206142493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Excerpts] The president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is on an official visit to France today. President Izetbegovic had a meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand. Here is a report from our special correspondent Muhid Minija from Paris. [passage omitted]

As we have learned from official sources of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, President Izetbegovic today sent a brief, sharp, and politically clear protest to the leaders of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Spain—therefore, of those countries that, by adopting the Joint Action Plan in Washington recently, proclaimed Gorazde a safe area.

Seeing that Gorazde is exposed to fierce attacks, [words indistinct] the countries that gave guarantees for this town will, if nothing else, lose their good reputation if they do not respond to the obligations they have undertaken and [word indistinct] 70,000 innocent civilians who are subject to inconceivable suffering.

Muslim Atrocities Against Serbs

LD1506132293 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Muslim units recently captured six Serb soldiers in Trovrh and killed them in a savage way, the command of the Serb forces in Foca has learned from a Muslim POW. The Serb soldiers were skinned alive as Muslim soldiers measured how long it would take them to die.

In the area of Medjedja, yet another mass Serb grave has been found and there are increasing indications about the suffering of Serb population in Gorazde. Citing captured Muslim soldiers, Marko Kovac, commander of the Foca tactical group, said that the Muslim command in Gorazde often allows groups of about 100 Serb civilians to go toward Serb positions. However, when the group approaches the hills, Muslim forces kill them by shooting them in the back. Gorazde is full of Serb graves because Muslims have slaughtered everyone, including children and the elderly, in the villages they have attacked.

'Chetnik' Checkpoint Outside Sarajevo Remains

AU1506124493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] A checkpoint that the Chetniks set up yesterday between Kasindol and Aerodrom Streets has still not been removed. For the time being, it is only known that the chetniks allow passage to the vehicles of the UN Protection Force and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, B-H PRESS reports.

Bosnian Serbs Deny Checkpoint

LD1406180293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—General Mihajlo Milovanovic, chief of the general staff of the army of the Serbian republic (VRS), has denied in his statement to TANJUG reports by the British news agency REUTER that the Serbian forces have blockaded the approach road to Sarajevo Airport and have set up a new checkpoint there.

Quoting a statement by a spokesperson for the peacekeeping forces, with a seat in Zagreb, REUTER reports that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has lodged a protest with the VRS.

"Sarajevo Airport is not and has not been blockaded, and the Serbian forces have not set up any new checkpoints," Gen. Milovanovic said.

"It is a pure fabrication, originating, I guess, from General Philippe Morillon, who was today stopped [kontrolisan] on his way to the airport," Milovanovic explained.

Serbs in Sarajevo Suburb Under Heavy Muslim Fire

LD1406212293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 14 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, June 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb positions in Rajlovac on the Sarajevo battlefront in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been under strong Moslem attacks over the past 48 hours, TANJUG learned on Monday from Bosnian Serb Army sources.

Bosnian Serb fighters are successfully resisting the attacks and trying to force the enemy troops to return to their earlier positions, said the sources. There have been no reports about casualties in the clashes so far. Fighting also continued in the Serb suburb of Vogosca, where mortar and artillery explosions have resounded over the past three days and many apartment blocks have been damaged. One woman was wounded in the attacks.

Moslem forces also launched an infantry attack on Vogosca on Monday but the attack failed, said Bosnian Serb military sources.

The command of the Bosnian Serb Army Corps in Brcko in north-eastern Bosnia said that Moslem forces on Monday continued firing from small arms and mortars on Serb positions south of Brcko. Moslem forces fired 20 80-mm shells on Brcko's defence lines from Brod and Kolonija four kilometres south-west of the town. Two Serb soldiers were slightly wounded in the attacks.

Muslims Trying To Open Sarajevo-Visoko Corridor

LD1506124493 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Muslim soldiers are planning a major attack on Ilijas to link Visoko and Sarajevo, Ratko Adzic, Serb republic minister of internal affairs stated last night. Adzic stressed that members of the ministry's special brigade are trying, together with members of the Rajlovac, Ilijas, and Vogosca brigades of the Serb republic's army, to stop the Muslim offensive on Rajlovac and Vogosca. It is clear that it is necessary to undertake more energetic military actions towards Muslim positions on this part of the Sarajevo battlefield to prevent Muslim attempts to break through Serb lines and thwart the plan to create a corridor between Visoko and Sarajevo, Adzic stressed.

Muslim Attacks Around Sarajevo Continue

LD1406144893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Pale, June 14, (TANJUG)—Fierce Moslem attacks on Bosnian Serb positions in the northwestern part of the Sarajevo battlefield continued on Monday morning.

Moslem forces have managed during the two-day offensive to move the line of front near the Serb suburb of Rajlovac, and are now trying to penetrate further in the Serb territory and prevent Serb forces from launching a counter-attack.

Moslem "green beret" troops on Monday morning continued mortar and artillery attacks on the Serb-held suburb of Vogosce.

No larger-scale clashes were reported on the other parts of the Sarajevo battle front, except for Moslem snipers shooting at Serb suburbs.

Sarajevo is the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which has for 14 months been ravaged by an ethnic war between local Serbs, Croats and Moslems.

New Relief Convoy Departs for Srebrenica Muslims

LD1506113293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Zvornik, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—After a routine inspection of its contents near Zvornik, a new shipment of humanitarian aid left for Srebrenica via Drinjaca and Bratunac along the left bank of the Drina river today.

A convoy comorising 10 trucks belonging to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] is transporting fresh quantities of food and mattresses for the Muslim population of Srebrenica.

As has been the case so far, the humanitarian convoy has passed safely and unhindered through the territory of the Serb republic on its way to its destination.

Zepa Muslims Bury Weapons, Evade Demilitarization

LD1506112193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Bratunac, 15 Jun—(TANJUG)—A joint tripartite commission is expected to establish today whether the Zepa region has finally been demilitarized following a postponement of several weeks, the main headquarters of the Serb republic's army announced.

According to the same source, the Zepa region should have been demilitarised on 8 May, but so far Muslim forces only surrendered symbolic quantities of mostly home-made or useless collector's weapons to members of the UN peacekeeping forces [UNPROFOR].

The Serb side is in possession of evidence that the local Muslim commanders in Zepa received orders from Sarajvo some time ago to bury their weapons and artillery pieces at least 100 meters from the main thoroughfare at a depth of four meters, so special UNPROFOR detectors could not discover the military equipment.

These orders were evidently carried out, as totally irrelevant quantities of arms had been surrendered to the Blue Berets, although, according to the demilitarization agreement, all Muslim formations in the Zepa region should have been completely disarmed, it was said at the main headquarters of the Serb republic's army.

Owen on Need To Obtain Muslim, Croat Cease-Fire

LD1306142493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1411 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Text] Geneva, June 13 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Lord David Owen on Sunday said that the most important thing was to stop conflicts between Moslems and Croats in central Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Vance-Owen peace plan is still the best solution for Bosnia, but its implementation has been postponed owing to the deterioration of the military and political situation in Bosnia, Lord Owen told reporters in Geneva prior to his meeting with Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

For the past 14 months, the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been the scene of a brutal civil and religious war between the local Moslems, Croats (Catholic) and Serbs (Orthodox).

Bosnian Moslems and Croats, former allies in their fight against Bosnian Serbs, have been fighting each other fiercely in central and south-western Bosnia over territories with the mixed Moslem-Croat population.

Rejecting the possibility of dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into three national states, Lord Owen assessed that the formula for common life in Bosnia-Herzegovina exists adding that the transition arrangements envisaged every conflicting side to have three representatives each in the temporary presidency.

Lord Owen and his colleague Thorvald Stoltenberg on Sunday morning had a brief meeting with Izetbegovic, Bosnian Moslem Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic and members of the Moslem-Croat government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Today's meeting in Geneva is aimed at launching a progressive implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan, i.e. to begin its implementation by the conflicting sides which have signed it—Moslems and Croats.

Bosnian Serbs have signed only part of the plan they thought was acceptable.

Diplomatic circles in the U.N. headquarters in Geneva doubt that an agreement on progressive implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan would be reached before ceasefire between Bosnian Moslems and Croats is obtained.

Muslim-Croat Fighting Continues in Central Bosnia

LD1406133093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1257 GMT 14 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 14 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces on Monday continued attacks on the central Bosnian town of Travnik, but units of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) repelled the attacks, Croatian television said.

HVO Information Centre in Novi Travnik said the remaining 60 drivers of a humanitarian aid convoy for Tuzla were sent home, in the organization of the HVO.

Bosnian Croats carried out three attacks on a convoy of several hundred vehicles, loaded with relief supplies for Moslems in Tuzla, on the road between Travnik and

Vitez on Thursday night and Friday morning, looted much of the cargo, and killed eight drivers.

Croatian television said on Monday that Moslems attacks on Croat villages around Vitez and Busovaca were underway.

Five Croat villages have been burned down in the municipality of Kakanj, the village Lopcici was seized by Moslems and the village of Catici has been under total seige for the fifth day, Croatian radio said. A number of refugees from villages around Kakanj are still wandering through the surrounding woods.

Croatian television said a HVO barracks in Mostar came under heavy anti-aircraft and infantry fire by Moslem forces.

Bosnian Serb military sources said the Moslem-Croat fighting continued on Sunday night in Mostar, Jablanica and Konjic, with artillery and infantry fire sounding in the towns and fire reported in some parts.

Croats and Moslems, until recently allies against local Serbs in the 14-month-old civil war in the former Yugoslav republic, have fiercely been fighting in the past few weeks for domination over the strategically important towns in central Bosnia and the valley of the River Neretva.

Five hydro-electric power plants are located on Neretva, Travnik has a factory of artillery weapons, hand grenades and mortars, and Konjic a factory of artillery shells and ammunition. Vitez is known by the production of explosives for military purposes, and the region between Kakanj and Gornji vakuf is rich in ores.

HVO Continues Attack on Konjic, Jablanica

AU1406151893

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 14 June carries in its regular 35-minute newscast reports from Konjic and Jablanica on the latest clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

Reporting from Konjic, Borka Rudic says that "the HVO snipers violated the latest cease-fire this morning, firing at the streets of Konjic. They also fired four shells, two of which hit the hospital building." She quotes the Operative Group Northern Herzegovina Press Center as saying that "during the last 24 hours, the HVO has used snipers and M-84 machine guns against the area of (?Pobos). Intense artillery and infantry activities have been carried out against the villages of (?Rudici), (?Hajdari), and (?Bubalo). The HVO and the Croatian Army have been using their artillery in the areas of Jablanica and Prozor."

In his report from Jablanica, Haldo Dervisbegovic says that "the HVO fighters from [words indistinct] are changing the landscape with their multiple rocket launchers. Together with the Croatian Army, the HVO is trying to push back the defense lines, but our fighters are determined to defend their homes, their villages, their Jablanica, and the entire Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina." He says that "HVO fighters are keeping the access points to the Jablanica hydroelectric power station under constant fire using anti-aircraft guns and machine guns, and an occasional round from a recoilless gun."

Muslims Attack HVO in Mostar; 2 HVO Soldiers Killed

LD1506101093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] The Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] Tihomir Misic barracks in Mostar and the demarcation line came under attack overnight. Muslim forces from the Zalik area launched mortar attacks on the barracks and other Muslim units attacked HVO defense lines facing chetniks in Rotimlja. Two HVO soldiers were killed in the attack.

HVO Continues 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Mostar

AU1406200693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jun 93

[The Mostar Press Center report]

[Excerpts] The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] is continuing the ethnic cleansing and murder of innocent civilians. Snipers and shells fired from the HVO positions yesterday at the left bank [of the Neretva River], which is under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, killed five civilians, including a seven-year-old child. Today the HVO gunners killed a woman and wounded several civilians.

According to the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Fourth Corps commander, HVO forces have shelled the entire area, from (?Blagaje) to (?Zarik). [passage omitted]

Today Mostar should have been celebrating its first anniversary of the liberation from the Serbian aggressor. On 14 June last year, the Mostar defenders, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the HVO, who were then together, moved onto the left bank and launched the last liberation operation against the chetniks. Unfortunately, the shooting has again started in Mostar. [passage omitted]

'Large-Scale Crimes' Against Croats Reported

LD1406183493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Excerpts] While the world media are dealing with completely marginal events in central Bosnia, mainly with incidents concerning humanitarian aid convoys, radio amateurs from Travnik, Vitez, and Vares are reporting large-scale crimes committed against the Croats in central Bosnia.

Despite the cease-fire, Muslim aggressor forces are continuing the ethnic cleansing of Croats in almost all parts of central Bosnia. Many industrial and residential areas in Novi Travnik are on fire again this evening, while columns of refugees are still arriving in Vitez and Busovaca. There are more than 35,000 evicted people in these towns, most of them women, children, and elderly.

About 12,000 Croats who managed to escape from the Kakanj municipality have arrived in Vares. The Kakanj municipality has been completely cleansed of Croats. A few members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] are still offering resistance to strong attacks by the Muslim army in the area of Kraljeva Sutjeska. A Catholic monastry, one of the oldest monuments of its kind in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is also under threat. [passage omitted]

The HVO's Bobovac Brigade has sent an appeal to the domestic and international public via radio amateurs asking them to prevent the crimes being committed by the Muslim aggressor in Kraljeva Sutjeska and Vares. It is too late for Kakanj now, the appeal says.

Captured Muslim soldiers say that these offensive actions by the Muslim Army are coordinated by Muhamed Alagic on direct orders of Alija Izetbegovic and Enver Hadziahasanovic, commander of the 3d Zenica Corps of the Muslim Army.

Croats 'Driven Out' by Muslims Repatriated to Bosnia

LD1406130793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Bratunac, 14 April (TANJUG)—Following an agreement with the Croatian side, the state and military leadership of the Serbian republic has enabled a group of 903 members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] to arrive safely in the central Bosnia area, a TANJUG correspondent was told today at the army of the Serbian republic headquarters.

Yesterday, prior to their departure from the territory of the Serbian republic, they received their personal weapons, which they surrendered to the army of the Serbian republic last week when they found refuge among the Serbs in Vlasic after being driven out of Travnik and its surrounds by their erstwhile Muslim allies.

After a brief stay in Manjaca near Banja Luka, all the HVO members were ferried, at the Croatian side's request, to Vares via the territory of the Serbian republic.

As the army of the Serbian republic headquarters says, all these HVO members were immediately sent to combat positions and were already fighting Muslim formations in the Vares area yesterday.

Muslim Assault Aims To Link Travnik With Zenica

LD1506124393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Excerpt] The Muslim Army is continuing its onslaught against Croat settlements and positions held by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in central Bosnia.

The situation is highly dramatic in the remaining villages controlled by the HVO around Travnik. Muslim forces are attacking persistently, in an attempt to link up their positions in Travnik to those in Zenica. Artillery and mortar explosions are still resounding in Novi Travnik, a town whose population has swollen by 20,000 refugees. There is no fresh information from Kraljeva Sutjeska.

According to the latest news from the HVO's military sources, this village on the road from Kakanj to Vares [central Bosnia] is still resisting assaults by Muslim forces arriving from the Zenica area.

The casualty toll is rising, while Vares is full of refugees from torched Croat villages around Kakanj. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Calls For End to Arms Embargo

PM1506101493 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Jun 93 p 4

[Interview with President Alija Izetbegovic by Alain Debove in Paris on 12 June]

[Text] [Debove] What is the situation in Gorazde, the Muslim enclave east of Sarajevo, which has been besieged for the past year by the Serbs and where fighting has killed dozens of people over the past two weeks?

[Izetbegovic] The city's very serious situation was one of the reasons for my visit to Paris. I had foreseen this dramatic development and I was anxious to explain it to my interlocutors. Major troop movements had taken place in recent days and suggested that the Serbs intended to seize the city. We do not have enough forces to defend Gorazde, and this is the result of the arms embargo imposed on us and through which the international community has deprived us of the right to defend ourselves. We have been fighting in these conditions for 14 months and we are continuing to fight despite this embargo and the rules of war dictated to us in this way.

Contrary to what it says, I think that the international community has automatically interfered in this war by decreeing the arms embargo. Many people do not know that. Without this embargo, we could defend Bosnia-Herzegovina and ensure our people's survival. Those responsible for the current developments are therefore those who remain advocates of this embargo policy.

In Washington last month, five countries, including France, decided to create "safe areas." And the tragedy of Gorazde is now taking place in front of those who took the decision to establish these "areas" which are not enjoying any protection at all. These countries have not succeeded in sending soldiers to the area. Not even observers!

[Debove] The Muslim forces have pursued an offensive in central Bosnia in recent weeks, notably in Travnik. What is the aim of this offensive?

[Izetbegovic] It is not an offensive but an operation to defend Bosnian territory. Units of the Croatian Defense Council in Bosnia-Herzegovina [HVO] who are largely not controlled by the command, did not respect the cease-fire agreements. They stopped humanitarian convoys and our regular army naturally responded. The HVO created a climate of insecurity within the Croatian population which fled as a result of media propaganda.

[Debove] What do you expect from the new negotiations which will take place this week in Geneva between Mr. Milosevic, Mr. Tudjman, and you and with Mr. Boban and Karadzic, the leaders of the Croatian and Serbian communities in Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] Not a great deal. Like all the negotiations which have taken place so far. Experience shows that these discussions, if they they are not accompanied by the mechanisms necessary to their implementation, are useless. We agree to participate in them, not because we expect them to yield many results, but because we think it would be a pity to refuse the invitation. If only for political reasons.

[Debove] At the beginning of the year, you finally accepted the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 autonomous provinces, but the fighting has continued since then and the Serbs have conquered new territory. Do you now think that the famous "map" pf the Vance-Owen plan is completely outdated and that a new partition should be envisaged?

[Izetbegovic] It is our enemies who are arguing in this way, not us! We think that we should adhere to this initial map which all sides approved and signed. But, in our view, the international community must exert effective pressure on the enemy—on the Serbs—to make them accept this plan, the only one which actually exists.

[Debove] Has the London Conference on former Yugoslavia failed once and for all or not, and has the time not come to convene a new international conference?

[Izetbegovic] In my view, conferences are not yielding anything at the moment. It is on the ground that something must be done and a balance restored in the arms sphere between the warring sides, between the Bosnian Army and the aggressor. Without this balance, there can be no fruitful negotiations, aside from capitulation which would be disguised by a semblance of negotiation and compromise. The balance is essential: This is the only means of making the aggressor understand that he must negotiate. If the Serbs are convinced that they can win militarily, why should they accept a compromise? Why? They will only consent to serious discussions when the military forces on the ground are balanced, and that presupposes the lifting of the arms embargo which has been imposed on us. Not to aggravate the war, but to achieve peace.

[Debove] The recent fighting in central Bosnia has been between Muslim and Croatian forces, which were formerly allies. Who is responsible for the breaking of this alliance?

[Izetbegovic] It is not fighting between Muslims and Croatians. I repeat that these are clashes between the Bosnian Army and the HVO which are largely the result of personal and subjective conflicts. Mate Boban, the leader of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, does not accept the Vance-Owen plan. He signed it but not sincerely, because what he wants is a Croatian republic within Bosnian—Herceg-Bosna—because he could exercise absolute power in it. Why did he launch the fighting in Mostar and central Bosnia? Because he does not want a united Bosnia which is scheduled in the Vance-Owen plan! He cannot have both at the same time.... His idea was perhaps to attach Herceg-Bosna to neighboring Croatia. This is a policy which is being pursued by Boban and his entourage, which we call "Bobanistan," but which, I think, is not approved of in Zagreb. Indeed, he has provoked these conflicts to show that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a viable state.

[Debove] So, what do you say to those who now think that partition may be inevitable?

[Izetbegovic] That would be a mistake. Yet another one! First, it would mean abandoning the weakest. That would be an avowal of political impotence: As nothing can be done, you continue to do nothing! Again and again! And so, should we do nothing either?

No, partition is not the solution to the problem, it will lead to the Lebanonization of Bosnia, which means that there will never be peace. Why is this impossible? If there were compact, homogeneous ethnic entities—Muslim, Croatian, or Serbian—geographically well defined, we could envisage partition. But that is not the case: In Bosnia, all the populations are mixed, throughout the country, except perhaps in the west. In these conditions, how can you create three states in which there would be minorities in any case?

It is absolutely impossible unless of course you carry out ethnic cleansing. This is what the Serbs are doing and what the Europeans are tolerating. They are tolerating something which is completely intolerable. This is the only way of possibly arriving at partition. Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, understood that and implemented ethnic cleansing. And at the present time the Croatians are doing the same thing.

Red Cross Indicates Over 3,000 Prisoners in Bosnia

LD1506132193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] According to data provided to the bureau of the International Red Cross Committee in Zagreb, some 3,000 prisoners are currently languishing in 46 prisons throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The largest number of prisoners are held by the Bosnian Muslims—1,300 in 26 detention centers—followed by Bosnian Serbs—holding 1,200 in 11 prisons—then the Croats—holding 500 at nine locations. However, the International Red Cross believes that the number of prisoners is much higher. Access to the detention centers has either been denied to representatives from the Red Cross by local authorities, or it has been made impossible due to security reasons, despite an agreement reached last October which binds the three warring sides to provide the International Red Cross with names of all prisoners.

Four Sudanese Relief Workers Killed

AB1406184593 Khartoum SUNA in English 0952 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Khartoum, 14 Jun (SUNA)—Four Sudanese were killed last Saturday [12 June] in Bosnia and Herzegovina while carrying [out] their duty in helping the affected Muslims there.

"AL-INQADH AL-WATANI" daily newspaper issued here Monday [14 June] has mentioned that the martyrs work for the Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA) and their names are Kamal Mahmud Husayn, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahab, Muhammad 'Ali, 'Ali Muhammad Hasan, and Amin Muhammad Uthman.

It is to mention [as received] that ISRA has opened a branch at Bosnia last year to [provide] relief to the Muslims there.

Battles Continue on Northern Dalmatian Front

LD1506124293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Knin, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting continued this morning along the entire line of separation of the warring sides on the north Dalmatian battlefield, the main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina announced. Villages in the direction of Benkovac came under fire from howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, tanks, and other artillery pieces of the Croatian Army. About 28 shells hit Benkovac itself, a statement says. The same source states that Croatian forces opened artillery fire from Miljevci on the villages of Velusic and Zitnic near Drnis.

There was fighting around Zemunik Gornji and in the Skradin hinterland as well. The statement says that not a single Serb village in northern Dalmatia was spared artillery rounds yesterday and last night.

UN Protection Force officers in battle zones were also subject to strong fire and direct threat, military sources in Knin say. All their attempts to stop Croatian Army fire failed. Units of the Serb army of Krajina were therefore forced to return fire energetically after many warnings, the statement says.

'Powerful Artillery Attack' on Biograd

LD1406160193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Report from Zadar by Toni Pajkin]

[Text] A powerful artillery attack was launched on Biograd and its surroundings shortly before 1600. More than 50 shells were fired in the first 20 minutes of this latest and by all appearances one of the most powerful strikes on Biograd and surrounding villages. Six deadly missiles from the Orkan rocket system were fired on the town itself. The attack had not yet subsided when I filed this report.

First reports from Biograd hospital speak of casualties—the dead and wounded.

In addition to Biograd, Filipjakov has also come under attack and Serbs are opening fire from nearby strongholds in occupied Polaca, Kakma, and from their position on (Petrim) hill.

Positions of the Croatian Army in the Zadar hinterland today also came under fire of moderate intensity. Paljuv and Novigrad were targeted several times by Serb artillery from Smiljcic and Debelo Brdo and part of Pridraga. At the foot of Velebit mountain, Rovanjska was attacked today. Zadar is quiet at the moment, but due to the attack on Biograd the residents of Zadar have been alerted to be cautious and observe the general alert which has been in force in this area for 57 days.

Government Calls For Intervention in Bosnia

AU1506103793 Paris AFP in English 1024 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Zagreb, June 15 (AFP)—Croatia has called for "immediate intervention" by the international community in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop increasing violence and chaos there, the Hina news agency said Tuesday.

The esclating crisis in Bosnia "warrants immediate intervention by the world community," Croatia's representative to the United Nations has told the Security Council in a recent letter, Hina said.

Mario Nobilo said it was essential that the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia and other U.N. resolutions be applied to stop the violence and prevent the former Yugoslav republic from plunging further into anarchy.

The Vance-Owen plan, drafted by U.N. and European Community peace mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, calls for the division of Bosnia into 10 semi-autonomous provinces. The U.N. has also designated six areas in Bosnia as safe havens to protect Moslems in those regions from Serb aggression.

Granic Affirms Human Rights for All Minorities

LD1506125093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian Government deputy chairman and foreign minister, has addressed those present at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, pointing out that Croatia, as one of the youngest states in Europe, has already signed UN documents on human rights and that the laws on human rights are being implemented for the country to achieve the ultimate level of human rights' protection. He added that all ethnic minorities in Croatia have been guaranteed the full protection of their rights in accordance with international laws. He also said that this can only be achieved through stopping any attempts at secession and warmongering and through constructive dialogue, reintegration, and joint efforts by all Croatian citizens.

Growing Danger of New Aggression by Croatia on RSK

LD1406150893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 14 Jun 93

[By Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, June 14 (TANJUG)—Official civilian and military circles in Knin believe that a new aggression by Croatia on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] now seems more certain than ever, which is also confirmed by some fighters who have returned from the frontlines.

This conclusion is drawn from reports on the mobilization and massing of Croatian troops and the frequent threats from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who said during a visit to China last week that he had received the green light for this and even some written documents to that effect from the United States (U.S.) Administration.

It is absurd, meanwhile, that the United Nations (U.N.) Security council, like the regime in Zagreb, is accusing only the Serb side for interrupting the negotiations between the warring sides, without even mentioning Croatia's failure to respond to U.N. Security Council Resolution 802 on the withdrawal of troops to positions held before the attack on the U.N.-Protected Area of Krajina on January 22 this year.

The Security Council expressed regret that the Serb side had not come to Zagreb for the talks but did not say anything about the shelling of Obrovac, in Krajina, and incursions by terrorist groups of the Croatian Regular Army into Krajina territory, where they killed or wounded 12 civilians so far.

Despite all this, the Serb side remains true to the peaceful option, underscoring that war cannot solve anything and underlining that it has always been for talks on an equal basis. It goes without saying that Krajina Serbs will not agree to the terms "local Serbs from Knin" or "so-called Krajina" in any document.

"Just as Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation proceeding from the right to self-determination, so Serbs have this very same right as a constitutive people of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Krajina representatives underscore.

However, there are many who do find such arguments to their liking and who turn a deaf ear to them, seeking ways and means that suit only one side—Croatia.

The Krajina Serbs, however, will not agree to such relations and rules of the game after being the victims of genocide twice in this century. They unequivocally expressed this in plebiscites in September 1990 and May 1991, when they resolutely decided: "Never again with Croatia."

These latest threats from Croatia have made Krajina Serbs more determined than ever to protect their land. The authorities claim that there will be no surprises this time, as on January 22, and that no trust will be placed in the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), whose troops had withdrawn and allowed the Croatian Army to pass through into Krajina and attack Serb villages in the January aggression.

Experts claim that Croatia will once again try to seize a part of Krajina territory and then to freeze such a situation, just as it happened with the occupied Krajina territories after January 22, since the U.N. did not have the wish, strength or means to force Croatia to withdraw. Military circles in Knin say that it will not be easy for Croatia to attack an experienced army which is fighting for hearth and altar, and the fighters say: "We have nowhere to withdraw."

Referendum Planned; Results To Be Known 23 Jun

LD1506110593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Topusko, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Presidents of Krajina's municipalities and members of the commission for implementation of the referendum on the unification of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] with the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], to be held 19-20 June, have agreed on the wording of the referendum question. At a meeting in Topusko last night they endorsed a proposal put forward by Mile Paspalj, president of the RSK Assembly, for the question to be in line with the RSK Constitution and to be worded as follows: "Are you in favor of a sovereign republic of Serb Krajina and its unification into a unitary state with the Serb republic and other Serb states which wish to do so?"

Paspalj stressed that preparations for the referendum are proceeding as normal and legally—the voters' lists are nearly completed, commissions and voters' committees have been appointed, and polling stations designated.

According to instructions issued by Dusan Starevic, chairman of the republic's commission for implementation of the referendum, which have been distributed to all commissions and committees, polling stations will be opened between 0700 and 1900 next Saturday and Sunday. The first reports will be received from municipalities at 1400, and then at 2000. The final results will be made public on Wednesday, 23 June, when a session of the RSK Assembly has been convened.

Members of the Serb army of Krajina will vote in their units. It was stressed that armed persons would not be allowed access to polling stations. Starevic stressed that polling stations for RSK citizens would also be opened in Yugoslavia and abroad. Observers of the European Community, the U.N., and the U.N. Protection Forces' civilian police, who have already attended some citizens' meetings before the referendum, announced that they will supervise the referendum, it was said in Topusko.

The Ministries of Information and Foreign Affairs of the RSK have started issuing credentials to foreign journalists, many of whom have already arrived.

RSK Leaders Urge Citizens To Vote for Unification

LD1506111693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Knin, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]; Mile Paspalj, president of the RSK Assembly; and RSK Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic have sent a proclamation on the forthcoming referendum on unification with the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], to the Serb nation, and to all citizens of Krajina.

"By voting in favor [of unification], you will begin the creation of a unitary Serb state in historic and ethnic Serb areas west of the river Drina," the proclamation says.

The proclamation goes on to stress that following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, "Serbs in this area have exercised their state-building right to live in their national state community as other nations."

The proclamation recalls the nation's inalienable right to self- determination, guaranteed by the UN Charter, while a referendum, whose results everyone must respect, is the most democratic and legitimate way of expressing the nation's will.

RSK Letter to UN Accuses Croatia of Ethnic Cleansing

LD1406205693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, today refuted Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's accusations that the Serbians are the aggressors, and that the Serbian side has broken off from the talks on a peaceful solution to the confrontation.

In his letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali Hadzic also refutes Tudjman's demand for controls along the border of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and his other demands that would in effect amount to annexing Krajina's territory.

Tudjman conveyed these demands in his letter to Butrus-Ghali on 3 June, invoking the Vance plan, which expires toward the end of this month. There is no agreement yet on extending the mandate of the UN peace force on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan.

In his letter Hadzic notes that Croatia has carried out aggression against the Serbian people on three occasions—August 1991, January 1992, and January 1993. The Croatian state's latest military conquest has also been condemned by the UN Security Council in its Resolution 802, which demands Croatia's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Instead of fulfilling the request within this resolution, the letter adds that Croatia demands that the RSK surrender the territories Croatia has occupied during all negotiations held through the mediation of the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia and UNPROFOR.

If this demand were to be fulfilled, Croatia would be "rewarded for its war campaigns," Hadzic stresses, recalling that the condition for negotiations was Croatia's implementation of Resolution 802.

"The RSK will agree to negotiate as soon as all its occupied territories are given back," Hadzic underscores.

Tudjman's assertion that both the Serbian and non-Serbian population is being terrorized in the RSK is described by Hadzic as cynical, because Croatia has, through state-sponsored terror, expelled 300,000 Serbs, robbed them of their entire mobile property and real estate, and stripped them of all civil rights.

"By carrying out the most widespread ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, Croatia has practically created a rift between the Croatian and Serbian communities, which makes it the most responsible for the present state of affairs: the creation of two states—the RSK and the Republic of Croatia," Hadzic pointed out.

In his letter to Butrus-Ghali, the RSK president, citing Vance's plan, protests against Tudjman's attempts to deny the Serbians their right to self-determination and the RSK's right to decisionmaking. However, Hadzic recalls that the plan does not envisage prejudged political resolutions.

However, the UN Security Council failed to take this into consideration, he believes, so most resolutions are adjusted to "Croatia's aspirations to annex Serbian territories," which particularly applies to Resolution 815, which treats the RSK as an integral part of Croatia.

The RSK has been in existence for three years now and meets all the conditions set by the Badinter Arbitration Commission for gaining independence. It has its own entity, territory, population, and organized authorities, Hadzic stresses.

Requesting that Butrus-Ghali not permit the Security Council and other UN bodies to be informed one-sidedly, the president of the RSK concludes that objective information is the condition for a speedier, peaceful, and just resolution to the dispute between the Croatian and Serbian sides.

RSK Minister on Croat Envoy's Remarks

LD1106205793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2007 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 11 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serbia Krajina (RSK) will negotiate with Croatia on the normalization of relations after Croatia withdraws its troops from parts of the RSK it has occupied, RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic said in a letter sent to U.N. Security Council President Juan Antonio Yanez-Barnuevo on Friday.

Jarcevic denied the allegations of Croatia's Ambassador to the U.N. Mario Nobilo that the RSK Government was allegedly refusing to negotiate with the Government of

Croatia. He said the RSK was only rejecting the conditions under which Croatia wanted to implement resolution 802.

Jarcevic termed "most hypocritical" the allegations presented by Ambassador Nobilo in a letter sent to the U.N. Security Council on May 27, in which he said that Serbs had allegedly carried out aggression on Croatia and that they would feel secure inside the borders of the Croatian state created by secession from the former Yugoslavia.

Jarcevic said the best illustration of how Serbs felt "safe" in Croatia was what the U.N. secretary-general had said in the Security Council on May 15 this year, when he reported that Croatia had expelled 251,000 Serbs to Yugoslavia and the RSK, not counting those who had found refuge in other countries.

The RSK foreign minister said in the letter to the Security Council president that Croatian authorities had showed their true face when they banished a total of 300,000 Serbs, who Jarcevic said had not put up even verbal resistance to the Croatian state. Jarcevic said Croatia had carried out ethnic cleansing on the largest scale on the territory of the former Yugoslavia but had not been punished for it.

RSK Dissatisfied With UNPROFOR's Civil Affairs

LD1306133793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1234 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Text] Beli Manastir, June 13 (TANJUG)—The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Civil Affairs based in Baranja and other parts of the republic of Serb Krajina has not completed its task, said the local authorities of Beli Manastir in the north-eastern parts of the RSK in a statement.

Under the plan drawn by international mediator Cyrus Vance, the UNPROFOR Civil Affairs should create the conditions for an economic revival in zones under their responsibility. This means that it was the task of that section of UNPROFOR to obtain speedily and efficaciously import and export permits for firms registered in the region, the local authorities said in a statement.

"Instead of being an active mediator in economic activities, UNPROFOR Civil Affairs assumed only the role of the International Red Cross and the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees," says the statement.

If UNPROFOR's mandate is extended, the local authorities will demand that the current members of that UNPROFOR section be replaced by those willing to help in the revival of the economy in the RSK.

The RSK had been proclaimed by Serbs in areas within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslav Federation. In March 1992, the RSK territory was placed under the U.N. protection.

The Beli Manastir authorities said they had no significant objections to the work of UNPROFOR military although "blue helmets" had tried at the beginning of their mandate to deepen the national rift among the people, rather than to help calm the situation.

Granic Summons FRG Ambassador on Kinkel Statements

LD1106180893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Dr. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Croatia, received today at his own request Dr. Hoerst Weisel, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, in order to have an explanation for the statement by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel on Croatian President Tudjman's influence and responsibility regarding the deteriorating situation and Muslim-Croat conflicts in central Bosnia.

Expressing concern over Minister Kinkel's statement, reported by the German agency DPA from Luxembourg, Minister Granic reminded the German ambassador of everything that Croatia and Dr. Franjo Tudjman personally had done at the bilateral and international level in order to stop the war and find a peaceful and lasting solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina and her three constituent nations.

Recalling some important facts regarding the aggression by the Muslim forces in central Bosnia, where the Croats are the majority population, Minister Granic emphasized that Croatia had no units in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Croatia is still pressing for the implementation of the Medjugorje agreement on the control of borders between the two states within the framework of the Vance-Owen plan and for the total freedom of all humanitarian corridors. Croatia is still looking after 250,000 Bosnia- Herzegovina refugees, 80 percent of whom are Muslims, and has observed all international humanitarian regulations, Dr. Granic added.

Ambassador Hoerst Weisel said that Minister Kinkel's statement was just another appeal to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, as the person with greatest influence, to press again for bringing an end to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and was not a call for responsibility.

Prime Minister's Government Said 'Doing Its Best'

AU1406122193 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 93 p 2

[Commentary by Slobodan Paparella: "Degradation of Reputation"]

[Text] Agreeing to the price increase of petroleum derivatives by an average of 40 percent, and the increase in electricity prices of even 67 percent, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic's government opted for the euthanasia of what was left of its reputation. Moreover, by drastically increasing energy prices, which could mean the beginning of hyperinflation (monthly rise in retail prices of more than 50 percent), Croatia was actually led to the brink of so far unseen social stress. Or to the brink of an earthquake, to be precise, which can only be alleviated by loosening all restraints in the politics of the distribution of salaries, or by strengthening the trend of a kind of civil disobedience regarding the payment of bills to the "state," obvious from the information that, today, over 200,000 inhabitants of our dear country still owe approximately 1.3 billion Croatian dinars for last year's electricity bills, rents, and various other public utilities.

To be fair, the government could not avoid running into trouble. In choosing between the possibility of increasing social tensions (even of shootings) and the collapse of the power industry, with inestimable consequences for the already ruined Croatian economy, the government opted for the lesser evil, or, at least, so it seems. The choice was, up to a point, influenced by the data about the decline in industrial production in April compared to the previous month by an alarming 6.3 percent.

Actually, the impotence in curbing the largely continuous decline in production in April, which has already sunk to the level of only 61.2 percent of the 1990 average, combined with inflation (to be precise, stagflation) is the main problem for Valentic's government and, unfortunately, a problem it can in no way solve. In my opinion and despite all this, it is nevertheless better than all previous Croatian governments, but has simply found itself in the situation of a farmer who knows what he wants to sow, when, and where, but cannot get seed from anywhere, and, on top of all that, God does not make it rain.

Valentic's government is simply a helpless victim of state policy, i.e. of the present image of the Republic of Croatia in the rich countries of the world, or the victim of interests that make those countries "help" us in the way they do. Whether with good reason or not (and this is quite irrelevant in this context), the rich world perceives us as a country of dubious democracy, which, on top of all that, hinders new borders within the internationally recognized neighboring country, and the morally very dubious transformation of statesmen's relatives into (shareholding) millionaires has certainly helped to further tarnish that reputation.

All that together, but most of all the interpretation of the Croatian attitude toward Bosnian events and our alleged participation in the war there, has put such strict restrictions on giving credit to Croatia that we cannot even get the ones already approved. There is simply no fresh money from abroad, nor can we count on it. That also means a delay in the realization of our hopes for stabilization.

Faced with a serious lack of money, the government of Prime Minister Valentic is simply doomed to improvising, to at least prevent (if this is at all possible) the further decay of the economic system, even paying the unpredictably high price of an additional degradation of standard for a significant section of the population. Trying hard to keep at least some of the inaugural promises, the government started construction of the part of the Zagreb-Maribor highway that goes between Gubasevo and Krapina, and is doing its best to ensure conditions for success in tourism; on the northern part of the Adriatic coast and wherever possible, it is struggling to somehow supply Dalmatia with electricity, and it is trying to erect, from the decaying system of self-managing socialism, at least the foundations for something transparent and promising.... It is doing its best, it seems. Unfortunately, it can do so little.

Security Council Discusses Various Issues

LD1106150193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] A few minutes ago we received a statement from the office of the president of the Republic saying that the 12th session of the Defense and National Security Council, chaired by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic, was held at the presidential palace today.

The council was informed about the recent official visit to the People's Republic of China by a Croatian state delegation headed by President Tudjman. The visit was assessed as very useful, particularly in view of the strengthening of Croatia's international position and the understanding the PRC, as one of the most influential factors in world politics, has shown for Croatia's problems. During the visit, a joint statement was signed by the two presidents, as well as protocols on the consultation of the foreign ministries on economic, cultural, and educational cooperation, on protecting and promoting investments, and on maritime transport, which will build good foundations for sincere and even better cooperation in all fields of interest for both countries.

Then a report on the Croatian prime minister's visit to European Community institutions was read. The Croatian delegation and the prime minister, in his speech to members of the commission for foreign policy and security, pointed to certain steps which need to be taken to contain the crisis in these areas, and expressed its willingness in that respect to make its cooperative contribution to the peaceful resolution of the situation in the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia. All the speakers showed great understanding for the Croatian position, so that the general impression and effect of this visit is very favorable, especially because the European Community officials confirmed that there is no ground for introducing sanctions against Croatia.

The council also examined the latest events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the continued Muslim aggression against the Croatian people. In that connection the council discussed the arrival and accommodation of a large number of Croatian refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Overall relations between the two countries were discussed, and a report was heard on last night's talks between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, held at the Bosnian president's request. In the light of the latest events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Government will examine and take certain measures toward the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina currently living in or entering the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

While sharply condemning the continued Muslim aggression against the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which violates all the peace agreements between the two peoples, Croatia will continue with its principled policy of pressing for a peaceful solution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. In that respect, the council concluded, it still supports further activities by the Croatian-Turkish goodwill mission aimed at containing the Muslim-Croat confrontations.

Defense Ministry Accuses Serbs of Infiltration

LD1206162593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] The fact that Belgrade's alleged peace-making policy is only a farce is confirmed by the further corroboration of Greater-Serbian conquests on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. This is stressed in a special communique issued today by the Croatian Defense Ministry, signed by Major General Slobodan Praljac, assistant minister for political activity.

As the communique specifies, agents—members of Seselj's party [the Serbian Radical Party]—have launched an organized campaign to recruit people in the former Eastern Bloc and bring them to the temporarily occupied Croatian areas by offering them houses and farms along the frontlines. They are doing this in an attempt to turn these people into true Krajisniks [people who lived in the Krajina area creating a buffer zone between the Ottoman Empire and the West], and thus create a buffer zone along the areas controlled by the authorities of the Republic of Croatia. This idea inspired the very name of the organization—Shield [Stit]—which is conducting the campaign. The head office of the organization is in Belgrade's Casino Hotel.

All mercenaries first go through security checks carried out by Vojislav Seselj's party. Members of former special units in the Eastern Bloc—KGB personnel, veterans from the Afghanistan war, former officers of the Soviet Union, and military factory personnel—have priority in recruitment. There are many Don Cossacks among the volunteers. According to a reliable source, about 500 Cossacks arrived in Visegrad in mid-April. About 150 of them have remained there, while the rest have been deployed in the areas of Bosnia- Herzegovina that are under Greater Serbian control. There is also great interest among the Slovaks, Romanians, and citizens of the former Soviet Union who are now living in Hungary. KOS [intelligence service of the former Yugoslav People's Army] offices are active in Hungary in the framework of this campaign.

Using documents proving their membership in the Shield terrorist organization, some terrorists go to the village of Bruska in the Benkovac municipality, to a camp run by Captain Dragan, Vojislav Seselj's subordinate. Following the completion of their training, some of them join rebel forces and others join units that infiltrate the territory under the control of the Republic of Croatia in order to engage in sabotage and terrorist activities.

There is a shortage of all goods and chaos and anarchy reign in the temporarily occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia. Cases of AIDS have been registered in the above mentioned camp. Apathy reigns in military barracks, and morale and discipline are at a low point. Paranoia of an imminent attack by the Croatian Army is being generated all the time. We must stress that some members of the rebel forces have the same weapons and uniforms as members of the Croatian Army. It can therefore be expected that they will try to infiltrate the rear of the Croatian Army. They might also stage an attack on their own units or commit crimes against the Serb population in order to blame the Croatian Army for this and, thus, increase tensions and compromise the Republic of Croatia before the world public, it is said in the Defense Ministry communique.

Bosnia Refugees Refuse To Go to Croat Area

LD1106165993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] This morning a small group of Croatian refugees from the Travnik area reached a checkpoint near Novska. Later on, 1,500 Croatian refugees arrived. They set off for Croatia from Mt. Vlasic where they found refuge as they were fleeing Muslim attacks. Some of the refugees continued their journey to Split. About 1,600 Croatian refugees from Travnik who yesterday arrived in Split refused to go to Capljina, Grude, and Ljubuski today where, according Lela Elek, head of the regional office for the displaced and refugees, accommodation has been provided for about 3,000 persons. We have nowhere to put them up. The Poljud swimming hall, where they slept last night, is not fit for habitation, Lela Elek says.

This afternoon, the Croats who left Travnik, fleeing the Muslim army's brutal aggression, are also talking with refugee priests from the Travnik area who are suggesting to them that they should nevertheless go to their destinations in Herzegovina. For the time being, the Croatian refugees are resolutely rejecting this as they stress that about 250,000 Muslim refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina have been put up in Croatia while Croatian refugees are denied the same treatment.

Commentator Views Effects of Silent Embargo

AU1406100593 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 93 p 21

[Commentary by D. Knezevic: "Where Does the Pressure Lead"]

[Text] The letter from Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks to the chairman of the Security Council was the first, and a very direct, reaction of the Croatian government to something that has, for a long time, been felt as a sort of embargo against the Croatian economy. As soon as Item 12 of Security Council Resolution No. 820 began to be implemented, many Croatian firms discovered that the embargo against the FRY cuts both ways. The provision, according to which trade with the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones can be carried out only with the permission of the Ministry of Commerce and with the prior evaluation of the Chamber of Commerce, has been misinterpreted in some countries, so that the package of administrative permits was also required for trade with Osijek, Karlovac, and Vinkovci. Customs officers of some European countries claimed that they cannot allow passage for cargo originating from these towns, because they have no proof that these areas are not under the UN protectorate. The Ministry of Commerce and the Croatian Chamber of Commerce provided additional permits and published a special direction, with a supplement containing a list of all places in the UNPA zones, including those which have no factories. The list is 15 pages long but, so far, there have been no signs that it would solve the problem.

"Attali: Short and Clear"

Moreover, there were examples that pointed to additional problems. Some firms were left without goods, because their foreign partners were afraid that sanctions would officially be implemented against Croatia. So, there is an increasing number of cases in which goods, according to already signed agreements, remained on either side of the Croatian border. There were doubts that this is due only to the incapability of customs officers in western Europe, but that there is an illusive design in all this. The government interpreted it as just another threat, or, at least, as a signal of lack of understanding for Croatia.

While it was necessary to read between the lines in such procedures, the letter from the President of the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] Jacques Attali could have been read without such efforts. Attali put all he wanted to say in some 20 lines. First, that credit for Croatia is postponed. Secondly, that the EBRD has a double mandate, political and economic, in supporting the development of democracy and the market economy. And then, that Croatia is evaluated in its attitude toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, toward freedom of the media and of human rights.

He thereby said explicitly something that has always been known, that the international financial institutions function in a close correlation with politics. The same message, but in a milder, some say, more refined form, was also conveyed to Croatia by the World Bank.

All those instances created an impression that Croatia is under a kind of silent embargo, which is, at the same time, true and not true. The fact is that Croatia did not get any foreign credit, but it is also true that it received substantial help through humanitarian actions. It is true that some firms, and their number can no longer be neglected, encounter difficulties in doing business with foreign partners, and that those difficulties cannot be naively interpreted as a mere incompetence in interpreting new regulations and as a mere coincidence. It is also true that this cannot yet be called an embargo against Croatia and that there is still hope that such an embargo will not be imposed and that we will not get a chance to see the difference between the two in practice. Nevertheless, the information on the Croatian exchange of commodities with foreign partners deserves to be analyzed in detail and we have to determine precisely why products made in Croatia now have slacker sales than at the same time last year.

"Politics Is Selling the Economy"

According to a poll conducted among businessmen, the present situation cannot be interpreted in only one way. Because, while some firms and branches of industry (the meat packing industry, for example) encounter obvious problems, others do business as usual. Between the two extremes, there are at least a few nuances, each of which demands a specific answer, and all of them together call for a wide and well-organized action. If it is true that the world has turned against Croatia and that economic pressure is used only to create a new political association on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, then it would mean that the decision to make Croatia a full member of the IMF, World Bank, and other international financial institutions, was, a couple of months ago, misinterpreted totally and even taken naively and euphorically. Just as it was then clear that this does not yet mean that the credibility of the new state was proven to the extent that it will immediately be given credit, it is now probable that the situation requires more solid reasoning. Croatia will achieve nothing by complaining that the world does not understand it. As one of the Croatian ministers said, we should start from the fact that Croatia, as a small country, is not a trend-setter. It does not create trends in the world, and the best it can do is to spot those trends quickly and correctly, and to use them in promoting its own interests.

As is the case with any other economy, Croatian politics paves the way to the world for the Croatian economy. Thus, the minister of foreign affairs is often in a situation to speak about Croatian industry, and the minister of finance must convince foreign bankers that there is freedom of the media in Croatia. Since it is more difficult to sell "goods" on words, it might help, for example, if only one, mostly state-owned newspaper, or just one television channel is privatized as is done in developed, market countries according to entirely market principles and according to the rule—who offers more?—to make the privatization without scandal and through an entirely legal procedure. Politicians, nevertheless, claim that "newspapers write what they want," which is mostly true, and, from the list of objections to the Croatian Government, that would eliminate at least one of the arguments in the name of which the entire country is being "punished,"—mostly those who have no control over the situation.

Oil Company Plans, Cooperation With China Discussed

AU1506081893 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jun 93 pp 4, 5

[Interview with former Prime Minister Franjo Greguric, the present Ina Company general manager, by Josip Smidt; place and date not given: "Croatian Vessels for Chinese Oil?"]

[Excerpts] The Ina Company has much more ambitious plans for 1993 than its achievements were in 1992. The plans do not concern the production of Croatian oil, but oil imports, which should reach 3.8 million metric tons compared to 2.7 million in 1992. The total quantity of the imported and domestic gas should rise from 2.5 to 2.8 billion cubic meters. A significant increase in the production of oil derivatives is expected. They should rise from 4 to 6.5 million tons. The production of VCM should rise from 119,000 tons to 150,000 tons, and of PVC from 40,000 to 128,000 tons. Both, the imports and the exports should rise from the 1992 level of $1.3 billion to $2.1 billion.

These are the circumstances under which Franjo Greguric, an eminent businessman, came to Ina.

[Smidt] Not so long ago you were prime minister. From that position you had a general view on the Croatian economy—and on "Ina." Has your attitude changed since you became general manager of this company?

[Greguric] I knew Ina very well even before. After all, I wrote my master's thesis about oil processing, about cracking. Even more important is the fact, I think, that I was involved in all the company's important strategies as long as I was prime minister. Together with Ina's board of managers, whose president was the present prime minister, Mr. Valentic, the government led the strategy of preserving Ina as the holder of energy production—oil, white derivatives and gas—and as a partner that stabilized the Croatian economy.

Stock Company

[passage omitted]

[Smidt] What are Ina's plans for refineries?

[Greguric] The Croatian market is too small for the existing refineries. Ina processed 5.4 million tons of oil last year, the processing of 6.5 million tons is planned for this year, and our refineries have a total capacity of approximately 10 million tons. In order to fully utilize this capacity, we have to try to produce a larger number of high quality derivatives because their price is higher. On the other hand, we have to reduce the production of crude oil, heating oil and bitumen. Significant results have already been achieved in this market segment. We have been supplying the market, for example, with 91- and 95-octane unleaded gasoline. We made great efforts to organize this production.

Gas From Russia

[Smidt] Is Ina planning to get rid of some of its activities that have been causing losses?

[Greguric] Some sections of Ina are in the red. Let me give you an example: We are buying natural gas in Russia and are then selling it at 40 percent lower prices than its initial cost was. We are compensating this loss by domestic gas. Our people do not know, for example, that Ina owns the companies Ina-vinil (the former Jugovinil) in Split, Ina-Polikem in Zadar and Cosmohemija in Otocac. Although they have the market for their products, the factories in Split and Zadar are not working to full capacity because of the war and broken connections in the supply of raw materials. In spite of that we want to keep up the manufacturing process and retain the personnel in these companies for peaceful times. Ina can support them by the end of this year and then we shall have to reconsider our mutual relations. [passage omitted]

[Smidt] It is planned that Ina capture the Chinese and other Far East markets. What are your concrete actions? What can be expected from these plans?

[Greguric] A state delegation, led by President Tudjman, is going on an official visit to China. Ina's representatives are already there. A three-year agreement on economic cooperation between the Sinahem and Ina Companies should be signed during this visit. In the next three years, 6 to 8 million tons of Chinese oil should be exported to Croatia. The counter transaction will be the export of fertilizers from Kutina and probably plastic manufactured by Ina from Croatia to China. We are trying to include Croatian vessels into this cooperation, so representatives of the shipyards in Pula, Rijeka and Split will also participate in these negotiations. We shall see what the results will be, but this agreement will at any rate be an important stability factor for Ina and consequently for the Croatian economy in general in the next three years. I think that this is one of the most important commercial agreements to be concluded this year.

U.S. Ambassador Portrayed as Enemy of Serbs

93BA1096C Sarajevo JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 93 p 3

[Article by "reliable Serbian sources in the United States"]

[Text] It seems that the danger of direct U.S. military intervention has ceased, at least for a time. Unfortunately, this does not mean that the Serbs will be left in peace. The war against them is continuing, only by other means. In that context, a small news item released by the White House on 11 May is indicative; one learns from it that President Clinton has appointed Dr. Peter Galbraith U.S. ambassador to Croatia.

From 1979 to this appointment, Galbraith has been senior staff associate of the Committee for Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. In that committee, he has among other things performed the duty of chief adviser on Southern Asia, the Persian Gulf, and North Africa. Dr. Galbraith gained particular prestige during the war in Afghanistan as the political coordinator of aid to the Mojahedin. In all those posts, he was collaborating with Senator Claiborne Pell, the committee chairman, who along with Senator Dole is the main proponent of American support to the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Galbraith is the author of several articles and special reports of the Foreign Relations Committee. Particularly notable among them is the "Report on Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina," which was written in 1992.

Galbraith has visited the territories of the former Yugoslavia several times both before and during the present war. During his most recent visit, to Croatia and Sarajevo, he wrote several articles published in leading American newspapers. In American political circles, Galbraith is well-known as a leading advocate of the idea of the necessity of complete disarmament of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ]. He has also been very active in organizing support for political movements in former communist countries. Among other things, he is the principal coordinator of financial support to Vuk Draskovic, president of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement].

Before going to Washington, Galbraith was assistant professor in the Department for Economics and International Relations of [name indistinct] College in Putney, Vermont, United States, and an instructor without tenure in the School for International Training at Keene State College in New Hampshire. In addition, he was chairman of the State Committee of the Democratic Party for Vermont.

Galbraith graduated from Harvard, took his master's degree at Oxford, and a doctorate in law at Georgetown University in Washington. He is the middle son of the famous American liberal economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard professor and former U.S. ambassador to India (1961-63).

Although a Democrat, in recent years, during the Republican administrations, Galbraith was the star of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. At the moment, he is thought by the Democrats to be an expert on the question of the Balkans and the former Yugoslavia. Through his long years of working with Pell and Dole, he has taken up Albanian political goals as his own. By all appearances, he has also adopted a profound hatred of the Serbs. If not one of the shapers of U.S. policy toward the Serbs, within the U.S. political establishment Galbraith is certainly one of the most outspoken advocates of destroying the Serbian states outside the territory of Serbia proper.

It is believed that Galbraith personally requested the position of ambassador to Croatia so that he might influence the development of events in the war zone from the immediate vicinity. Because the U.S. Administration is being run by relatively weak people, who do not have their own opinion about the war in Yugoslavia, it is expected that Galbraith will take the initiative and will begin to impose on the U.S. Government his own private war against the Serbs. He will continue the campaign of breaking up Yugoslavia which was conducted two years ago by Ambassador Zimmermann. Because he is considerably younger and has had immediate experience in the (successful) conduct of the war in Afghanistan, Galbraith will be considerably more vigorous and probably also more effective.

It is expected that he will be applying a strategy that comes from his experience in Afghanistan. This will probably be "lengthy military and moral exhaustion." In that context, his true goals are probably to provoke a new war between the Serbs and Croats and to reestablish cooperation between the Muslims and Croats. This is essential if he wants to ensure unhindered advancement of weapons to the Muslims and continuation of the war. He will try to convince the Croats that they will get the support of the United States and the West in their military efforts to take the Serbian Krajina. Because the Croats are politically dependent on the West, Galbraith will be successful in his persuasion. With Afghanistan as the model, he will devote a large portion of his effort to organizing the military training of Muslim troops, and that specifically for guerrilla operations behind the Serbian lines. Among other things, the training will certainly include the handling of modern antitank and antiaircraft weapons. It should be no surprise if he attempts to carry combat action to other territories of the Serbian Republic, the Serbian Krajina, and Raska.

Judging by his long years of cooperation with Albanian organizations, Galbraith should be expected to raise the question of secession of Kosovo and Metohija very quickly. It is quite certain that he sees this as one of his personal objectives.

This man and the overall American efforts which in the future he will guide to a large extent should not be underestimated. Galbraith himself labors under the complex of a "great and unattainable father" and we are quite certain that he is completely ready to push a country into war and destroy an entire people if this brings him publicity and fame comparable to that enjoyed by the elder Galbraith. For him, the Serbs are only an African tribe of cannibals who should be exterminated!

There is also a warranted fear that he will find a common language with the authors of the most recent French proposals for expansion of the war in Bosnia. According to them, the present territories under Muslim control should be "UN-protected zones" guarded by sizable contingents of foreign (UN) troops. That would free Muslim military units to take the initiative and conquer new territory.

Jose-Maria Mendeluchi is leaving the position of special emissary of the UN High Commissar for Refugees for a new post of which no one ever heard before. He is becoming representative of the U.N. High Commissariat for Refugees at NATO headquarters, which for the present is in Brussels. His place is being taken by the Englishman Nicholas Morris, who earlier "oversaw" the resettlement of Afghanistani refugees, i.e., recruitment of mujaheddini. This castling is by no means accidental and is closely bound up with Galbraith's coming to Zagreb. A great deal of new resettlement of refugees, then, is being planned in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The general impression is that a process has begun of assembling around Bosnia-Herzegovina operatives who have been hardened in the operations of "humanitarian aid" and "protection of human rights" in Afghanistan. They will replace the present system of low pressure with a system of high pressure. They will do this through training in the "democratic skills" and by supplying the Muslims "humanitarian" ammunition through convoys containing humanitarian aid. They will also help in other ways—in selecting humanitarian objectives, for example. The man who up to now has been a superb operative in the low-pressure program has in the meantime become the greatest expert in current ethnic distribution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a man with the greatest number of direct contacts with the Muslim military commanders. He now has the greatest familiarity with the character of Muslim leaders throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, and with that expert knowledge he will be quite useful to the operational headquarters of NATO being established in Zagreb. There he will help in planning operations and resolving possible disagreements which human rights inspectors might have with the native population. To be closer to the field, he can be expected to get a special office in the renovated Marshal Tito Garrison in "white Zagreb city." He will share that magnificent palace with several hundred NATO staff officers and one general with four glittering stars.

Paraga: Tudjman Works for Milosevic

93BA1075D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
20 May 93 p 5

[News report: "Dobroslav Paraga, HSP [Croatian Rights Party] Chairman, in United States: Tudjman Works for Milosevic"]

[Text] "We sharply condemn the massacres recently carried out by the fascist HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces of Mate Boban against the Muslim population of Mostar, Vitez, and other cities and towns. Mate Boban, a puppet of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, is continuously attacking Muslim civilians and the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Tudjman is using Croat forces for illegal military aggression against the independent and internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to partition it between Croatia and Serbia."

This was part of an announcement by the Croatian Rights Party signed in United States by its chairman, Dobroslav Paraga. The announcement continued:

"We, as Croats, are resolutely opposed to this sort of policy, which is destroying Croatia's positive image in the world community and also invalidating the legitimate losses that Croats have suffered in defending their country. We emphasize that the policy of Tudjman and Boban does not reflect the will of the people; rather, it is a dictatorship by a very narrow clique. In order to achieve their goal, against the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, they have already liquidated many Muslims and Croats who opposed them.

"Franjo Tudjman is intentionally provoking clashes with the Bosnian Army, which includes HOS [Croatian Defense Force—military wing of HSP] volunteers and a mixture of both Croats and Muslims, in order to delay any sort of military intervention against Serbia and to keep UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia. Tudjman is using UNPROFOR to achieve the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, opposing the legitimate Bosnian Government which demands the withdrawal of UNPROFOR. Tudjman is opposed to lifting the embargo on supplying arms to Bosnia, which its legitimate government has requested, and in so doing, Tudjman is openly on the side of Milosevic and Serbia."

High-Level Corruption Alleged

93BA1074K Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
14 May 93 p 29

[Unattributed article: "Women and Daughters"]

[Text] Mrs. Ankica Tudjman, wife of the president of the Republic of Croatia, is involved in shady business related to the U.S. humanitarian foundation Save the Children of Croatia. The foundation, which sent more than $1 million to children of parents who have been killed or are missing for one year of operation in Croatia, appointed Mrs. Tudjman honorary president in Croatia, but without any authority whatsoever. Decisions on the policy of the foundation have been made in the United States by Dr. Miroslav Kovacevic, initiator and founder and a U.S. citizen. Ankica Tudjman decided in the meantime to take over the helm of the foundation and move the headquarters to Zagreb, contrary to U.S. law. She blocked the account of the foundation in the Privredna Banka Zagreb, where there were between $60,000 and $80,000 of contributions from all over the world, and she transferred the money to her own name. Thus, U.S. citizens who have sent contributions in large numbers are left without the tax exemptions allowed when they make those donations.

Kovacevic has filed a complaint against Ankica Tudjman because of warranted suspicion that she has taken the money illegally.

In the meantime, Mr. Tudjman's daughter has established a firm, Netel, whose business is selling sports equipment, she is the exclusive representative of Marlboro in Croatia, and sponsor of the Croatian national tennis team. Many people are wondering how it is that Nevenka Tudjman-Kosutic has suddenly been getting along so well.

And the third affair. Dunja Mesic, daughter of Stipe Mesic, former president of the SFRY Presidency and now the president of the Croatian parliament, bought 10,000 shares of the cement plant in Nasice. This office-worker in the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose salary is about 250 German marks [DM], paid DM1 million for the shares, which caused a storm even in the Assembly. Stipe Mesic called the article in GLOBUS concerning this transaction "a harangue made to order," and the paper replied that as far as the Nasice cement plant is concerned, he had abused the Croatian Assembly twice!

Poll on Issues of War, Resettlement

93BA1074F Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 93 pp 12-13

[Article by Franka Sola: "Resettlement Without Supporters"]

[Text] The topic of a telephone survey conducted on 15 May was the so-called humane resettlement of population. That idea emerged discretely quite some time ago as one of a series of possible political solutions for finally establishing peace in the war-torn areas of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We defined humane resettlement as intergovernmentally organized resettlement, i.e., exchange of population between Croatia and Serbia and between ethnic cantons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order to stop or prevent conflicts in ethnically mixed areas.

We put to the respondents a series of questions out of a desire to learn what the public of Split and Zagreb believes to be the cause of Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia, and then whether in their opinion after the war in Croatia and Bosnia will there be ethnic tolerance between the nationalities now at war, do they think the so-called humane resettlement of population is a good or bad idea, do they think that operationalization of that idea before the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia might have avoided the war, and do they believe that in the current situation a resettlement of population could contribute to reestablishment of stable peace in the war-torn areas?

We found that an absolute majority in both Split and Zagreb believes that the cause of Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia is Serbian imperialist policy.

Some 50 percent of those in Zagreb and almost as many from Split believe that after the war there will not be ethnic tolerance in the areas of Croatia and Bosnia which are now torn by war and before the war were ethnically mixed, while a third of the respondents (in both cities) think the opposite. As we see, the opinions of people in Split and Zagreb are divided on this.

An absolute majority in both Split and Zagreb believes that the so-called humane resettlement of population is a bad idea, except that considerably more people in Split than in Zagreb think it to be bad.

The public in Split and Zagreb believes that the war would not have been avoided through humane resettlement of population before the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia. Nor do they think it can be stopped. After all, the public in both Split and Zagreb believes that the objective of Serbian aggression has been and remains imperialist seizure of foreign territory.

We also found that an absolute majority in both Split and Zagreb does not believe that the so-called humane resettlement of population would at this point contribute to reestablishment of stable peace in the areas where war is being waged today.

Why in your opinion did the Serbian aggression begin against Croatia and Bosnia?

	In Percent	
	Split	Zagreb
Because of Serbia's desire for conquest	80.7	75.4
Do not know/no answer	11.9	13.8
For some other reason	7.4	10.0
Because of the unequal position of Serbs	0.0	0.8

After the war, will it be possible in Croatia and Bosnia to reestablish ethnic tolerance between the nationalities now at war with one another?

	In Percent	
	Split	Zagreb
Yes	34.2	33.8
No	52.4	48.9
Do not know/no answer	13.4	17.3
	+/- 3.5	+/- 2.7

Do you believe that humane resettlement of population is a good idea or a bad idea?

	In Percent	
	Zagreb	Split
Good	32.6	23.3
Bad	52.1	62.3
Do not know/no answer	15.3	14.4

Do you think the war could have been avoided through humane resettlement of population before the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia?

	In Percent	
	Zagreb	Split
Yes	16.5	13.4
No	67.2	70.8
Do not know/no answer	16.3	15.8

Do you believe that humane resettlement of population could contribute to reestablishing stable peace in the areas where war is still going on today?

	In Percent	
	Zagreb	Split
Yes, I do	25.1	21.8
No, I do not	56.6	58.4
Do not know/no answer	18.3	19.8

We thank all the individuals who agreed to talk to us. The survey was conducted on two independently random samples in Zagreb (400) and Split (200 respondents). L. Ross and F. Sola were the authors of the research, and A. Jelaska did the computer processing and the graphs.

More Firm Stance Toward Croatia Urged

AU0906182693 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] The State Chamber Committee for International Relations discussed the division of assets of the former Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the relations with Croatia behind closed doors today. A news conference was held after the session. Our correspondent Nadja Pengov also attended the conference:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] First about the succession of the former Yugoslavia, which the committee discussed for the first time. The government was commissioned with two tasks. It must intensify contacts with those countries in which former Yugoslavia had any sort of assets and it must also intensify talks with the successor states. The negotiations have so far yielded no results. Serbia and Montenegro are, understandably, not interested and are sabotaging the talks. Slovenia, therefore, proposes to start the division of assets through the agreement of the former republics interested in this. Besides Slovenia, these republics are Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

The debate about the war in the Balkans was, naturally, pessimistic. The committee in its conclusions reiterated the well-known Slovene stand, which favors a united Bosnia-Herzegovina, measures that will annul the results of the Serbian aggression, and the realization of the Vance-Owen plan. Slovenia remains outside the Balkan conflict but its security could also be threatened if the war were to move onto Croatian territory again.

Regarding Slovene-Croatian relations: The committee discussed the contents of six reports compiled by various parliamentary commissions. Their basic message calls for a constructive attitude in the further talks with Croatia. However:

[Thaler] They indicate that we need to strengthen our positions and act more firmly toward Croatia. The policy that with a considerable degree of benevolence acknowledged that Croatia was in a difficult situation, that it had other priorities and problems, a third of its territory occupied, and so forth, this policy unfortunately has not yielded any concrete results so far.

[Pengov] Zoran Thaler also said that the government at the session gave no assurances that relations between the countries had warmed. His personal opinion was that the accusations about the sale of Piran Bay were unsubstantiated. Slovenia will insist on the integrity of the Piran Bay. A debate in parliament will merely strengthen the positions of the Slovene negotiators. The statements about the sale of Razkrizje are not correct, either. Razkrizje is Slovene and shall remain so. [end recording]

Farmers Expected To Close Border Crossings

AU1506081593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Protesting that the Slovene Government is too slow and inefficient in resolving agricultural problems, the farmers will also block Zavrc international border crossing on the Slovene-Croatian border today.

Our Ptuj correspondent Franci Golob has learned that the road at the above border crossing will be closed between 0930 and 1030 [0730 GMT to 0830 GMT] this morning. The farmers from Ptuj Commune will insist on the road block until the government meets their demands which are: adjustment of the official purchase price of milk and a higher purchase price of cattle, sugar beet, and wheat. Among other things, the farmers demand that this year's official purchase price of wheat be 27 Slovene tolars per kg.

The farmers are also supposed to close Gornja Radgona border crossing [on the Slovene-Austrian border] today.

Italian Support Sought

LD1206165493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Portoroz, June 12 (TANJUG)—Judging by statements of ranking officials in the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, this emergent state is trying to involve Italy into a border dispute with the adjacent ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

In case an international arbitration is engaged for Slovenia's new state border with Croatia, Slovenia will demand endorsement for the latest internationally recognized border between one-time zones "A" and "B" in Trieste, said Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa on Saturday.

Jansa, speaking at a meeting in Portoroz of the Social-Democratic Party whose president he became a while ago, indirectly characterized border misunderstandings with Croatia as its undisguised territorial claims on Slovenia.

Slovenia and Croatia, allied in breaking away from Yugoslavia, have lately cooled off relations over outstanding issues of their border on land and sea.

Recent references to the border through Trieste have been made also by Zmag Jelincic, leader of Slovenia's extreme nationalist party (the Slovenian National Party). They appear to be the Slovenian side's answer to the increasingly open and frequent Italian demands for the final resolution of the question of Istria and Italian deportees from this area during World War II.

The northern Adriatic peninsula of Istria, now shared by Slovenia and Croatia, was Italian territory in the period between the two world wars. As a result of Yugoslavia taking over Istria after World War II, there was an exodus of the peninsula's Italian population, while the western allies ceded Trieste to Italy.

Claims on the one-time border between zones "A" and "B" also apparently want to involve Italy directly into the unsettled Slovenian-Croatian territorial misunderstandings.

Italy, to Slovenia's disapproval, has lately been tightening the control of its border with Slovenia and the circulation of goods and passengers.

Hungarian Border Affected

AU1406090093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0700 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Excerpt] As the government failed to meet the demands of the farmers to immediately impose protectionist prices for milk, beef, pork, and wheat the farmers of the Pomurje region in the Slovene Farmers' Alliance will close Dolga Vas and Hodos border crossings on the border with Hungary at 0800 [0600 GMT] this morning. [passage omitted]

State Council Contests Constitutionality of Laws

AU1406090193 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0700 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] The 13th session of the State Council opens in Ljubljana this afternoon. The councilors will discuss the proposal to initiate the procedure to assess compliance with the Slovene Constitution of Article 29 of the Law on Amendments and supplements to the Law on Property Transformation of Companies.

As is known, the State Chamber endorsed amendments to this law, whereupon the State Council vetoed them. In the second round of voting the State Chamber deputies again passed the amendments to the property transformation legislation. For this reason the State Council will ask the Constitutional Court to issue a ruling about the regularity of Article 29, which renders void all transfers of companies' social capital to other legal entities. In the opinion of the State Chamber the above article is contrary to the Constitution, violates the principles of a law-governed state, and undermines Slovenia's reputation abroad. The councilors also believe that this article in particular could cause Slovenia unforeseeable damage in business contacts with domestic and foreign partners. All these reasons have prompted State Council Chairman Dr. Ivan Kristan to call the session of the State Council only a few days after the State Chamber session. At the session the councillors will initiate the procedure to establish the constitutionality of this article of property legislation.

State Chamber Again Passes Law Amendment

AU1106163793 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Jun 93

[Excerpt] At an afternoon session of the State Chamber that lasted a mere half hour, deputies in the repeated round of voting—held because of the veto passed by the State Council—endorsed the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Property Transformation of Companies for the second time. Of the 76 deputies present, 53 voted for the law and 13 against. [passage omitted]

Federal

Economic Blockade Causes Problems for Refugees

LD1506101593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0910 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 14 (TANJUG)—Special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner (UNHCR) in former Yugoslavia Nicholas Morris and head of the UNHCR mission in Belgrade Judith Cumin were informed on Monday that a total economic blockade of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia further complicated the problem of refugees.

The UNHCR officials had separate meetings with Yugoslav Human and Minority Rights Minister Margit Savovic and commisioner for refugees of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dobrica Vulovic.

The U.N. Security Council in April tightened sanctions against Yugoslavia introduced last May over its alleged involvement in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

About 640,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia have been registered in Yugoslavia. An estimated 160,000 people are believed not to have applied for a refugee status.

During the meeting with Savovic, the UNHCR officials were told that the international isolation of Yugoslavia had legalized a discrimination of refugees in Yugoslavia in relation to the persons with the same status in the republics of former Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Information Ministry said.

The Serbian Information Ministry said that the accent during the Vulovic-Morris meeting was on the fact that international humanitarian aid was reaching Yugoslavia with great difficulties after the sanctions were tightened because of the complicated procedure of obtaining the necessary permits.

It was also stressed that the international community should devote more attention to the problem of refugees in countries under sanctions and that international humanitarian organizations should invest greater efforts in solving the vital problems of refugees.

JIK Bank Activities Detailed

93BA1074A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 93 p 38

[Article by V.Gr.: "JIK Bank Belgrade"]

[Text] The main business objective of JIK Bank [Yugoslav Investment and Credit Bank] this year is to strengthen the money portion of capital. Otherwise, the bank will not be able to do business. This is a difficult task in view of the restrictions on business resulting from the measures adopted concerning margins, legal reserves, and the like. What is more, the measures adopted to restrict the level of interest rates and to require that 70 percent of potential be channeled into the economy (otherwise the rate of legal reserves is increased as a penalty) mean, in the judgment of Miodrag Prica, general director of JIK Bank, direct government intervention in business operation. It is true that the measures were motivated by an intention to bring down inflation and invigorate production, at the same time controlling primary note issue.

In any case, in spite of the unfavorable environment (hyperinflation of 18,000 percent), JIK Bank ended last year in the black. Asked how this was accomplished when revenues from bank interest, margins, and commissions did not keep up with inflation, Prica replied that they were successful because they found the right measure that allowed the bank to cover costs, while capital was revalued from revenues, without putting customers in a more difficult position than the one in which they are doing business.

The adverse effect of the environment on the operation and business performance of the bank can be seen from the fact that the 8 million dinars of long-term reserves set aside in 1991 signified nothing last year. As long as hyperinflation persists, the bank can make only short-term plans. Under such conditions, it does not pay to make loans, but only to turn money into goods and earn something from the immense price differences.

But the question immediately arises of what kind of bank it would be if loans and guarantees were not the basis of its policy, but it channeled its potential only into firms which are most or entirely its own property. According to Prica, that must not be the basis of the bank's policy. It must be oriented toward the economy and must look for its opportunities in a larger volume of business and make a profit from what are called "other" banking operations. Otherwise, relying on revenues from interest, it would lose a great deal. As for the foreign exchange balance, the bank showed a positive net result in spite of the reduced volume of business because of the foreign embargo. Obligations arising out of guarantees and the servicing of loans which firms abroad have been unable to cover (the embargo has shut down their operation or reduced their business) are being handled by the bank without payment, thanks to a great deal of persistence and exceptional understanding on the part of the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ].

All this does not mean that the foreign embargo and frozen accounts abroad have not created serious problems for customers and for the bank. Exports and imports are down, and international payments for what actually was achieved had to be made in a different way than the usual one, with the help of the bank.

Finally, there remains the problem of old foreign exchange savings deposited in the NBJ, assuming the government has the same obligation to the bank that the bank has to the public. The problem of savings has not been solved, because "all participants are trying to pass on that hot potato." What scant results there have been were achieved through the purchasing of apartments and office space. What is more, the lag of the official rate behind the exchange rate on the black market has for all practical purposes put a halt to solving the problem of savings. At the same time, an active exchange rate would motivate the public to seek dinars. In the proposals (drafts) for solving the problem of savings, it is not a good thing that solutions are offered in the form of money obtained through redistribution and by preventing owners from using it.

Dafiment Bank—Rehabilitation or Liquidation

93BA1075J Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 93 p 9

[Article by B.S.: "Public Auditing Service Auditors at Dafiment Bank: Report by End of Month"]

[Text] Belgrade—A business audit is currently under way at Dafiment Bank, conducted by experts from the Service for Trade Payments and Financial Inspection of Serbia. We have learned that they are examining the bank's business books and balance sheets in order to determine what its potential (in money, real estate, and business) is and how many obligations and debts it has. The full audit is supposed to be completed by the end of this month, in order that a decision on further action can be made based on these results.

Although public speculation has centered on two options—rehabilitation or liquidation of the bank—our sources say that for now there are no plans for liquidation, only for rehabilitation, with the help of the federal Agency for the Rehabilitation of Banks. However, it is still unclear how much money will be needed for this and where the money for financing through this Agency will be found.

This audit, which is being conducted by the Public Auditing Service, is not connected in any way with the expert group headed by Dr. Slobodan Komazec, which had a private arrangement with Dafiment Bank.

Serbia

Draskovic Lawyers Claim To Know Name of Police Killer

AU1406150093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Vuk and Danica Draskovic's attorneys have told the press that they know the name of the man suspected of murdering policeman Nikolic. They have filed charges with the investigating judge and the district public prosecutor against the person whose identity—as has been stated—for the time being remains undisclosed in the interest of the investigation.

The Draskovic attorneys claim that when Nikolic was killed, the person who fired lost his documents, his identity and party membership cards. There are written testimonies of four witnesses about all this. The only information released at the press conference was that the person suspected of killing the policeman was not a member of the Serbian Renewal Movement, but of the party which is close to the ruling party.

Divisions Among Serbs Discussed

93BA1074C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 93 pp 18-20

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "Serbs and Serbians: The Displacement of the Tribal Man"]

[Text] One of the outstanding reactions to the decision made in "Paradise Valley" is the reworking of the well-known and a bit outdated witticism about Janko in Kosovo, which in the new version goes: "He fared like Sloba in Pale" (author—Dr. Nele Karajlic). Of course, it went further than mockery—disagreements between the trans-Drina and cis-Drina Serbs are increasing with each passing day. It began at Pale, it continued on the Drina, and where and how it will end is still uncertain. In the meantime, even Radio-TV Serbia has begun to some extent a discrete, but recognizable campaign to "protect the threatened Serbians" from their "aggressive hill-and-mountain brothers," thereby paradoxically taking over the thesis of certain opposition circles.

Thus, the story about the Serbs and the Serbians, long displaced by the loud appeal for unity, has suddenly become relevant. There is nothing strange, then, in the fact that the discussion announced earlier as "Serbs and Serbians," organized by the magazine ALTERA, held 11 May in Hotel Jugoslavija, became more attractive. In addition to the host, Ivan Ivanovic, chief editor of ALTERA, other participants were Dr. Nebojsa Popov, Dr. Slobodan Inic, Dr. Nikola Milosevic, Dragan Djilas, Rastko Zakic, Predrag Protic, Milosav V.R. Jovanovic, Milan St. Protic.... The discussion was interesting and at some points polemical, but nothing was less disputed than the disproportionately large role of the Serbs outside Serbia in the political, cultural, and economic life of the mother country. Predrag Protic believes that the domination of the "Dinarians" is the consequence of events in 1945, when the new government, "hungry" for personnel, placed in positions of leadership people on whom it could count, and because it did not trust the Serbians, it brought in tried-and-true fighting men from the Dinaric zone. Dr. Nebojsa Popov believes that so long as political authority is viewed as one of the main components of war booty, the victors in war will have the most important role, while Dr. Nikola Milosevic says that in Serbia there is a political filtering process that favors authoritarian figures. Accordingly, the so-called newcomers and those who are so perceived in Serbia see their chance above all in politics, from which they expect compensation for their social status. In exchange for absolute loyalty, the system offers them political affirmation, regardless of their intellectual capacity.

Serb-Serbians

Milosav V.R. Jovanovic recalled that the domination of the "Dinarians" is visible not only in the government, but also in the opposition, which is led by "one Montenegrin and two Herzegovinians," and he also dwelled on the numerous associations of Serbs in Belgrade based on the place from which people come, of which he says that they function on the principle of Masonry and that personnel policy is shaped in them. Rastko Zakic was most severe, putting the question of the behavior of guests in the host's house: "If someone outside Serbia does not want to live in peace with his neighbors, are the Serbians required to aid him at any price?" Dragan Djilas wondered about those who are "Dinarians" by origin, but "Moravians" by birth, referring to them as "Serb-Serbians" and insisting that people must not be divided once again on this basis.

Dr. Slobodan Inic recalled that there is no autochthonous population in Serbia, which is a classic case of a country whose population has come from elsewhere, that it has nothing to do with pre-Kosovo and post-Kosovo people, that the population of Serbia is barely 150 years old, and that what is today Sumadija is characterized by the component of those who have come from elsewhere, who are either Dinaric (the mountain regions of western and southwestern Serbia) or southern (valley of the Morava):

"This newcomer element is a cause of instability because of the inconstant character, wandering, and fecklessness. The spiritual sense of a border (the border guard mentality) creates a dynamic element unsuitable for modernization, which is in turn a precondition for creating the stable institutions of a democratic society. The two waves of immigrants (Tito's victors and Karadzic's losers) are the consequence of an erroneous policy of centralization, which is resulting in the separatism of other peoples and the attraction of yet more newcomers into Serbia. The problem, then, is not one of the Serbs and the Serbians, but of modernization and democratization. But, unfortunately, there has not been the development which is a prerequisite of democracy. Both in the first Yugoslavia and after 1987, the Serbs have failed the examination as to their own internal system. The failure in imposing the internal system has resulted in the disintegration of Yugoslavia, yet it was precisely in Yugoslavia that Serbism could best realize and affirm itself."

Differences

There were also differing views of the possibility of surmounting the conflict which threatens. Dr. Nikola Milosevic believes that the solution lies in eliminating the present political order. Rastko Zakic sees the solution in purging the tribal man from within ourselves, and Dr. Nebojsa Popov notes that those who speak for the interests of a part of the Serbian people to the detriment of the whole are reducing the chances that there will be a change of direction from the orientation toward renewing "natural" community toward a political community of free citizens.

The discussion "Serbs and Serbians" raised many more interesting questions than it answered. Thus, Ivan Ivanovic's question about the definition of Serbians was a bit neglected: "Are they only the Serbs who live in Serbia, or all the citizens of Serbia? For example, are the Skipetars in Kosmet Serbians of Skipetar origin?"

In any case, after the most recent events (the assemblies in Pale, the closing of the borders, the drastically tightened regulations concerning refugee status, the disagreements over the Pan-Serb Convention and referendum...) a fear arises of a possible conflict between ekavian and jekavian. It is certain that Serbia will confront a new wave of refugees—if the Vance-Owen plan somehow "passes," the population of the opstinas in which the Croats and Muslims or UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] will take control from the Serbs will set out for Serbia; otherwise the inevitable feat in a war against the entire world will result in new eastward resettlements. The increased number of refugees could cause louder grumbling of the "old settlers" and defensive reactions on the other side, and if the media continue to accentuate the differences, intolerance and perhaps something still worse is not far off.

"I see the decision made in 'Paradise Valley' as an advance signal of the death of Serbian populism," says Dr. Nebojsa Popov. "This impression accentuates the phenomenon that Serbia, pressed down by sanctions, is merely applying sanctions toward a portion of its own people. (The possibility should, of course, not be precluded that this is yet another of Milosevic's tactical moves.) The pronouncement of sanctions by the sanctioned recalls the folkloric tradition here of prisons in which subprisons are formed. It is clear that when community is based on force and when problems with neighbors are solved that way, relations are also regulated by force within the community. It is certain that there are significant differences between the Serbians and the Serbs outside Serbia, but, thanks to the policy based on violence, they could grow into conflicts instead of enriching the community. Aggressive Serbian populism first artificially suppressed those differences, and then now is artificially pushing them into the foreground, running the danger of their degenerating into a conflict."

The easiest thing, of course, would be to cast all the blame on the "wild hillbillies," whose primitive nationalism led to war in the first place. However, aside from "gusle" nationalism, there is also "shepherd-type" or "accordion" nationalism (the one from Velika Drenova, for example), whose responsibility is equally great. Incidentally, Aleksandar Rankovic and Slobodan "Krcun" Penezic were "pure Moravians," and the list of "Dinaric" humanists and pacifists is longer than one might suppose. There is really no one who can gain from new divisions and new conflicts, but that danger will threaten so long as there is a team in power which survives from divisions and nourishes itself with quarrels. Only when the government changes will that famous oar be able to go back to its principal purpose—transportation. In both directions, of course.

Serbian Refugees Manipulated, Disliked

93BA1074D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 93 pp 20-22

[Article by Filip Svarm: "The Intolerable Difficulty of Changing Direction"]

[Text] "There is no life for us there any longer," one of the fighting men of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] from Benkovac said in Belgrade, "neither if we win, nor if we lose. If the Croats come, they will obliterate us. No one will dare to stay and wait for them—neither the children nor the elderly—even the cats will flee if, of course, they are Serbian. If we stand down Tudjman, even then it will not be better. We will not be able to produce anything, we will have nothing to sell, nor anything to buy from anyone. We will live like Indians on a reservation until we die off. So, whoever is thinking of himself and his family will try now, while there is still time, to find a house and a job in Serbia. That is exactly why I am here."

Resettlements

Resettlements to Serbia of the Serbs from outside Serbia began even before the ethnic wars broke out on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The antibureaucratic revolution, its "Yugoslav" character, and communist populism found more than fertile soil in the numerous Krajina colony in Serbia, mainly military pensioners and officeworkers. Retired colonels, forgotten people on which Rankovic's police relied, and similar people visited their native places and explained to the people the "role of Comrade Sloba." The circulation of POLITIKA and VECERNJE NOVINE shot up suddenly, although the readers, at least at first, had trouble reading Cyrillic, and the urgently needed victims of the new "Ustasha genocide" against the Serbs emerged. The "remnants of a butchered people" (Matija Beckovic) like Miroslav Mlinar of Benkovac, whose throat was cut, but who was not butchered, were met with open arms in Belgrade. All of them, regardless of the reasons, real or invented, made up the first wave of the Serbs from outside who dashed into Serbia. Numerically negligible, they were the very receptive bait to all the rest—the question of the attitude toward them, more accurately, the understanding of their suffering and the rendering of every kind of aid, became at that time a question of national honor and patriotism.

After the Serbian "antibureaucratic" revolution came the krajina "log revolution."

Barricades, mistreatment of travelers on the main highway through Lika and Dalmatia, and rallies had the result of a sizable portion of urban Serbs in Croatia beginning to feel uneasy, to say the least. It was not easy for them at all to explain to their neighbors whom their fellow countrymen had mistreated on the highway for hours that they had nothing to do with that. At the same time, adjustment of the ethnic representation in the police, administrative bodies, and business management committees of large firms as designed by the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] set in motion a second wave of Serbs moving to Serbia. These were mainly specialists and well-off private operators who did not want to give up their careers nor risk capital and machines. Then the war broke out, first in Croatia and then in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which set in motion the third and most sizable movement of Serbs from outside Serbia into Serbia. This migration was divided into two streams. The first was made up of refugees from territories outside Serbian control that were reached by the war, that is, people who had lost everything, and the other was made up of a segment of the population of the self-proclaimed Serbian states who were trying to preserve what they had. Here again it was a question of private operators and specialists whose business had come to a complete halt, but also of all those people who did not agree with the dominant conception of pan-Serb interests. That is, in addition to the war, the Serbian krajinas also fell into anarchy and crime under the direction of local warlords, which pointed up the fact that many base interests were hidden behind the high-sounding goals. Also, life without electricity, without elementary legal security, without basic needs of life, and with no opportunity to educate children did not promise that tomorrow would be better. Aside from them, Serbs from the cities and areas of Croatia not reached by the war also flowed into Serbia after exchanging apartments, houses, and farms with Croats from Serbia—they were the ones who best understood one another.

All the Serbs of the World

"The Serbs outside Serbia dare to be vigorous because they know that Serbia stands behind them and will never leave them," the late Dr. Jovan Raskovic, founder of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], said on one occasion. Brana Crncevic and those who think like him on both sides of the Drina have been saying that the name "precani" [people from the other side] sounds at the very least insulting in their ears, because the Serbs cannot and dare not be divided. Knin is called the "Serbian Athens," and the people of krajina "the most superb segment of the Serbian people." The war option had priority at that time, the dream of the "United Serbian States" lay within reach, so that everything could be put up with and every means justified. No one asked why the Serbs on the other side were waging war, why they were leaving their homes and coming to Serbia, and what would in actuality happen to them. They represented only an instrument of a policy—both those who were waging war and those who were fleeing from the war. All that was asked of all of them together was to display ethnic radicalism and unreserved support of the current Serbian government personified in the figure of Slobodan Milosevic, which they did wholeheartedly. In any case, that government took pains to keep the Serbs outside Serbia bereft of representatives who might offer an articulated alternative to war. The naming of representatives of the Serbian regime who were dentists, warehousemen, psychiatrists, and truck drivers pursued the exclusive goal of making the entire people their accomplices. That was not particularly difficult when all those who thought differently were chased away and proclaimed traitors to the nation.

At the moment, there are about 500,000 Serbian refugees in Serbia and an undetermined number of Serbs from outside Serbia who are not recorded anywhere, above all so as to avoid possible deportation to their native places as cannon fodder for the warlords there, people like Vucurevic of Trebinje. They are scattered over the entire republic. A commissariat of the Republic of Serbia is seeing to the refugees, while the rest are getting along as best they can. Usually both groups are spending the last remnants of their savings or working without a permit—the refugees because if they get a job they lose their refugee status, and these others because mainly they have no papers. In addition, there is also a decree prohibiting the hiring of those subject to military service from the Serbian states.

The former magnanimity of the hosts, under pressure of increasingly difficult life because of the economic embargo, faded away long ago. They are all being put in the same basket—both those who have lost everything as was the case, for example, in Lipik (western Slavonia) or Gorazde, and those weekend warriors, commanders and functionaries of the Serbian state on the other side of the Drina, who have acquired luxury automobiles and apartments at attractive locations through the suffering of their own people and robbery of those who until yesterday were their neighbors. More and more mention is being made of the oar which carried them over the Drina, and it is being emphasized more and more that the Serbs from the other side are actually more like those nationalities with whom they have been living than like the Serbians. They are likewise asking what they are looking for in Serbia and why they do not go back where they came from, and let them make peace or go down fighting? They tell them that they have nothing to do with the reason why they came and unconsciously repeat Sime Djodan's thesis that the people from Sumadija and those from Zagorje would never wage war over anything. It seems that the times of ethnic pathos are slowly passing and that the phrase from the end of World War II, when those who received the refugees referred to them as gluttons, is coming into fashion once again.

The Sin

It has turned out in the end that the greatest sin of the Serbs from outside Serbia is that they have unreservedly trusted Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic. To be sure, he did unify all the Serbs while he could; however, because that policy is completely exhausted because of the pressures from the entire international community, the man has simply become a peacemaker overnight. The Serbs from the other side have simply been unable to follow that change of direction. That is, they have been instrumentalized to that extent, and, worst of all, this has occurred on the particular territory where in the name of "all Serbs in one state" they have butchered and killed to such an extent that they feel they cannot go back—who in Foca, which is to become a Muslim province, dares wait for the return of those who until recently were his neighbors? Likewise, which of the Serbian refugees dares to return to his home until about two million refugee Muslim and Croats return? Although the krajina states cannot survive themselves, although in Serbia most of those who have been left without anything anywhere cannot realize even a minimum of normal existence, the Serbs outside Serbia are not in a situation where they can give up the concept with which they started out. To recognize that so much bloodshed was in vain does not seem possible for the present. That is why they will desperately support Ostoja Sibincic in Hrtkovci in the hope that they will get some kind of houses where they will be able to live with their families, they will also support Vojislav Seselj and his fascist statements, and finally, they will support anyone who promises them that their struggle will not come to an end. Perhaps they are aware that the goal for which they set out is unattainable, perhaps they are also aware that they have been manipulated, like one person from Daruvar who in the end went back to Daruvar and declared that he preferred to be a prisoner in Croatia than to live in Serbia with no prospect at all, but they are not in a position to consent to the kind of peace offered them after everything that has happened. Who knows, perhaps precisely because they pushed them into war and suffering and then made a change of direction they will proclaim them to be rebel elements. In any case, the Serbs outside Serbia will try to maintain the status quo as long as they can, a majority trying somehow to remain in Serbia, like the man from Benkovac at the beginning of the article. And if a majority of them do stay, the saying that Slobodan Milosevic has done what Ante Pavelic failed at, that is, cleansed Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina completely of Serbs, will become reality.

Djindjic on Polarization in Political Life

93BA1075I Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
24 May 93 p 8

[Article by Dragan Bisenic: "Is There an Alliance Between Democratic Party and Socialist Party of Serbia: Djindjic: Our Money Is Not in Milosevic's Bank"]

[Text] *A new pretext for old divisions between parties was found after the parliamentary session at the "Sava" Center. The SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] and DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia] did not even show up for that meeting. Vuk Draskovic, the SPO chairman and Seselj's godfather, said that he had not married the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], and that he would not want to dissolve that marriage either, while the DSS did not come in particular because of the*

SPS method of exerting pressure on Serbs across the Drina. Seselj left the meeting, and based on the parties that remained it was concluded that this is a new, future coalition, in which the Democratic Party [DS] will be one wing of the "socialists."

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, Dr. Zoran Djindjic, says that the fundamental view of that party is that one must stick to the political position that one espouses, regardless of who else accepts it.

"We would be a strange party if we looked at what Milosevic does and then did the exact opposite. The position that he espouses in connection with the Vance-Owen plan and in connection with finding a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is correct, in our opinion, not because he espouses it, but rather because it is the correct position. We have not passed judgment on whether Milosevic is doing this sincerely or insincerely," says Djindjic.

Complicated Situation

In his assessment, it would be bad for the citizens of Serbia and the world public if Milosevic were to remain the only advocate of a peaceful solution while all others lagged behind. Right now the world does not see the subtle difference between Milosevic the communist and Milosevic the peacemaker, the originator of this or that; rather, it regards him as one of the agents of the peace process. "It would be very bad if he were to emerge as the only sensible person in Serbia, with all the rest of us on the other side with Seselj," Djindjic believes. "Being lumped together with Seselj, both in the eyes of the citizens of Serbia and in the eyes of the world public, is much riskier for us than being present at a meeting also attended by Milosevic, but being there in order to implement something that we regard as correct. Our assessment is that the opposition would lose much more if there were one domestic meeting of radicals and socialists where the radicals dropped out and the socialists remained as the party that is directing the game that meets with the understanding of sensible people in Serbia and the world. The further development of events should show whether the division into moderates and extremists is real and whether it yields consequences. If TV Serbia continues to offer the extremists the amount of room that it has done thus far, then that means that this was a trick. But it does not cost us anything to check this out," Djindjic explains.

Based on many previous actions and statements by the head of the DS, one could get the impression that the main adversary of this party is the SRS. The Democratic Party has clashed with the radicals more than others because in contrast to other parties, including even the SPS, it has more frequently stood by Cosic.

"We have not invested money in Milosevic's bank, so that we feel cheated if Milosevic pulls out," says Djindjic, adding that the government must marginalize extremists.

By initiating a "crisis of confidence" between the SPS and SRS, as Dr. Vojislav Seselj announced after leaving the meeting at the "Sava" Center, the behavior of DS deputies could be very significant, given the current balance of power in parliament. If Seselj were to raise the question of confidence in the SPS government, the Democratic Party would express its nonconfidence, says Djindjic. "Seselj and the opposition can vote nonconfidence in the government. We are for voting nonconfidence in it, but we are not in favor of that in order to form a new government with Seselj. We think that the government is not up to its tasks. We would raise that question ourselves if we had an adequate number of deputies," says Djindjic.

Commenting on the agreement between the Serbian president and the DS in assessing TV programs, which came as a surprise when expressed at a recent meeting with the heads of the parliamentary caucuses, Djindjic says that the consequences of that remain to be seen. In his opinion, it is not enough to remove Seselj from his privileged position in favor of "objective reporting"; rather, he must be marginalized in order to "deprive him of the profit gained on the basis of these privileges and show him that he is no longer in good graces." Seselj can return to the level of objective treatment only after a month, Djindjic believes, when he loses part of that which he gained in an "unregulated manner."

Nonpartisan Government Follows

Political relations are much more extensive than the relationship between Milosevic and the opposition, and reducing them to those two elements requires a great deal of imagination and narcissism, the chairman of the DS Executive Committee thinks. "In Serbia at present, neither the opposition nor the SPS is a political factor. An underground struggle is under way in Serbia between extremists and moderates, regardless of what party they are in or what position they hold. We all know what the goal is, and the entire world knows what the goal is, but the question is whether we will respect the rules of the game in accomplishing it or whether we will achieve it like thieves taking cars that they like off the street. These two strategies diverge. We are interested in seeing a policy of reason and realism emerge victorious, even if Milosevic is its propagator," says Djindjic.

Djindjic believes that there will be a coalition between the "two Vojislavs"—Kostunica and Seselj—because they are bound by the same revolutionary affinity, but he rejects the possibility that the opposition will direct the game between Seselj and Milosevic, that it can orchestrate one against the other.

Thus far, parties have existed as "unprincipled alloys." Monarchists have joined republican parties, republicans have joined monarchist parties, but now is the time to break up these alloys, Djindjic believes. He predicts, however, that the next moment in Serbia and Yugoslavia is the formation of a government that will supersede parties. If the Milosevic-Seselj coalition breaks up, the next step will not be the creation of actual coalitions, but instead either a nonpartisan government or a dictatorship. Only in the following phase can there be the creation of coalitions based on party identity. That will come in about seven or eight months. In the next phase, Djindjic foresees the injection of authority and personnel potential from the extrapartisan sphere. "There is no way that we will emerge as a coalition with the socialists, the Hungarians, and Arkan. If a nonpartisan government is created, the Democratic Party will put forward its own candidates," says Djindjic.

Macedonia

U.S. Troops To Be Deployed Along Border

LD1406225393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2231 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Skopje, June 14 (TANJUG)—Defence Minister of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Vlado Popovski said on Monday [14 June] that 300 U.S. troops would soon be deployed along the republic's northern border and that they would receive orders from the command of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) contingent already deployed there. About 700 Scandinavian U.N. peacekeepers are currently in Macedonia.

Popovski told reporters that Americans would report to the UNPROFOR command in Zagreb about the situation on Macedonia's border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but added that the expansion of their mandate, "i.e. the change of their role to a defensive one," should not be ruled out.

Popovski spoke of "a defensive role" of the U.S. troops although Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said on Friday that the republic faced no military threat from the north, and U.N. Commander in Macedonia General Fin Saermark Tomsen said on Saturday that there was no need to increase the U.N. presence in Macedonia and that Washington's intention to contribute troops "must have been politically motivated."

Tomsen said that the Americans should first undergo training for peacekeeping, because they have never been in that role before. In Popovski's explanation, the U.S. troops would join a defensive mission in Macedonia because the conflict in former Yugoslavia might spread to the south.

Popovski also said that Macedonia was considering a gradual joining of the NATO structure in order to resolve its defence problem on a long-term basis. "Contacts with NATO have already been made and we soon expect to receive a written confirmation of our admission to the Western military alliance," he said.

UN Commander: More Troops Unnecessary

LD1206144793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Skopje, June 12 (TANJUG)—The military part of the U.N. mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia does not require more troops, Commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Macedonia General Fin Sarmark Tomsen said in an interview published by the Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA on Saturday [12 June].

He added that the United States' plans to send troops to Macedonia were probably politically motivated.

The Danish general recalled his statements made in the past two or three months in which he said that there was no need for increasing the number of peacekeepers in Macedonia during the present mandate.

U.S. President Bill Clinton on Thursday agreed to send a reinforced company team of around 300 U.S. troops to Macedonia to prevent the spreading of war to the territory of that former Yugoslav republic.

After learning from the press about a possible sending of U.S. troops to Macedonia a month ago, General Tomsen immediately contacted the UNPROFOR command in Zagreb and the Macedonian Government and learned from them that nobody had been informed about it.

General Tomsen added that he expected more information about whether U.S. troops would have the same tasks as the peacekeepers from Scandinavian countries already in Macedonia—to observe and inform.

It is also significant from the political viewpoint whether the U.S. troops would be deployed in border areas or they would act as a reserve force, added Tomsen.

He voiced doubt that the unit could arrive in Macedonia as early as next week. In his opinion, the U.S. soldiers should first be trained to act as a peacekeeping force, which is something they have never as much as attempted to be.

Opposition to U.S. Troops

LD1206135293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 12 Jun 93

[Text] Ohrid, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Vasil Ristevski, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [Demohriscanska Partija—DP] in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, told a news conference in Ohrid today that with the arrival of U.S. troops, this republic would virtually become a U.S. province.

According to the leader of probably one of the most influential oppositions parties in this former Yugoslav republic, "NATO membership is not in the interest of the Macedonian people and citizens, because, regardless of what one thinks, this would bring the republic into a conflict with neighboring and other countries which are not members of this western military alliance."

The DP chairman recalled that logistic support and family members are coming together with the U.S. troops, hence the size of the U.S. community in this republic would be considerably larger than just the number of U.S. soldiers.

Reaction To Deployment Reported

LD1106200793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Radical Party's (SRS) board for Kosovo and Metohija Milorad Jevric on Friday [11 June] assessed as negative the decision on the stationing of United States troops in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and said the decision was aimed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Jevric, official of the second strongest party in the parliaments of Yugoslavia and Serbia, was commenting at a news conference in Pristina, centre of Kosovo and Metohija, the decision taken by U.S. President Bill Clinton on Thursday to send 300 troops to join the U.N. force in FYROM, with which the government in Skopje has agreed.

President of the ethnic-Albanian Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK) Ibrahim Rugova, for his part, welcomed the decision of the Washington administration at a news conference in Pristina on Friday.

The New Communist Movement of Macedonia on Thursday termed an "immoral act" which "constitutes an attack on the sovereignty of Macedonia, the Macedonian people and all citizens of the republic" the call for the deployment of U.S. troops on the territory of FYROM.

Secretary of the Democratic Party of Yugoslavs of Macedonia Bogdan Miskoski on Friday said his party was against the stationing of the U.S. troops and the creation of military alliances on the territory of FYROM. He said that "Macedonia is not militarily threatened by any of the neighbours and, with the stationing of American and other troops, it is endangering both its own security and the security of its neighbours."

President of the Democratic Party of Serbs of Macedonia Borivoje Ristic said the "stationing of American troops will not prove good for the United States either." He said the U.S. had "so far enjoyed the undivided sympathies of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia" but he was afraid the day was not far away when the slogan "yankee go home" would appear on many walls in the region.